THE IDEOLOGY OF BURGUNDY

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# THE IDEOLOGY OF BURGUNDY

*The Promotion of National Consciousness 1364-1565*

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# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

# INTRODUCTION

## D'A. J. D. Boulton and Jan R. Veenstra

The object of this collection, like that of the colloquium out of which it grew, is to shed new light upon the nature of what we, the organizers and editors, have chosen to call the 'ideology' of the incipient domanial state created and maintained by the Valois Dukes of Burgundy between 1364 and 1477, and maintained by their Habsburg successors in a relatively intact and distinct condition (though lacking the Duchy of Burgundy itself) down to the period of the revolt of the northern Netherlands in the 1560s. Within this period, the articles in the collection concentrate on the period between about 1430, when Duke Philip the Good completed the construction of the core of the state and founded his famous Order of the Golden Fleece, and 1519, when Duke Charles II – whose mother tongue was Flemish – was elected Emperor in succession to his grandfather, and the erstwhile Burgundian state was reduced to the condition of a relatively minor province of the far-flung Habsburg empire.

In the broadest and most abstract sense, the English word 'ideology' has meant since 1909 primarily a systematic scheme of ideas, usually relating either to the proper political or social organization of a nation or state and the policies required to achieve or maintain such arrangements, or alternatively to the proper conduct of a *status-group* of some sort (to use a Weberian term), including both broad societal *orders* and *estates*, and much smaller groups defined on the basis of their particular function. Jan Dumolyn, in the first essay included in this collection, defines 'ideology' as 'a unity of symbolic representations, discourses, arguments, and stereotypes which serve a specific goal and are used by a specific group of actors' – which in his essay means the officers of the Burgundian 'state'. In the context of agricultural civilisations like that of Latin Christendom in the period in question, the ideas included in such an ideology on the level of a 'nation' would normally include more or less legendary notions about the origins and identity of the 'nation' in question, about the origins of its government or principal dignity, about the legal rights and moral worthiness of the current prince and his dynasty to hold that dignity and the political authority derived from it, and about the ways in which God and the lesser members of the Court of Heaven had manifested and continued to manifest their favour towards nation, dignity, dynasty, and prince. In the context of the history of the Burgundian 'state' the term may usefully be employed to describe the

political and social ideals held both by the 'government' of the state in the narrowest sense – that is, the dukes and their most important councillors and officers – and by the principal categories of people who either *promoted* (through various forms of propaganda), or carried *out* (through their personal activities), the policies of that government.

The colloquium from which this volume has arisen was concerned on the one hand with the nature of the ideology both of the Burgundian state as such and of its officers and principal support-groups, and with the forms in which it was embodied or expressed as propaganda: whether explicit or implicit, and whether spoken, written, or represented graphically through signs comprehensible to at least one section of the target audience. It was especially and explicitly concerned, however, with *vernacular* expressions of the ideology, by which term was intended not merely expressions in languages other than Latin, but those in any form – including non-verbal forms – that were not addressed exclusively to the learned élite who thought and wrote exclusively in Latin. The content of this volume reflects the full range of these concerns, and while it could not hope to cover every aspect of Burgundian ideology and propaganda from every perspective, it does at least present new ideas about many of the more important aspects.

The eight essays included in this volume approach the various different aspects of Burgundian ideology, propaganda, and identity from equally varied perspectives and in equally varied media. The leading essay, by the Belgian historian Jan Dumolyn, examines what can be known of the ideology of the most important class of state servants – the councillors of the successive dukes – who developed their own 'group ideology' on the basis of certain very general principles, and through this contributed to the development of a corresponding 'state ideology'. Dumolyn approaches this subject systematically, beginning with a careful distinction between what Charles Taylor has called the 'high theory' of political philosophers – the object of most scholarly attention today – and the relatively neglected 'pre-theoretical' or 'middlebrow ideology' created by the ducal councillors in the course of their practical service to the Burgundian dukes. The latter, Dumolyn argues, was constructed around a series of 'central signifiers' that shaped the otherwise practical discourse of the officers in question, and constituted a 'precocious state ideology' in which the notion of the state was clearly distinguished from the *haultesse et seignourie* of the prince. To demonstrate this, Dumolyn begins by examining the ways in which the officers employed the language representing the notion of 'state' itself – *status regis, status rei publicae*, and the like – and goes on to examine their use first of the closely related concepts *res publica*, *bien publicque*, *utilitas publica*, and *bonum commune*: concepts which (he argues) formed an important basis for their policies. In the next major sections, he discusses first the councillors' use of the terms *justitia*, *aequitas*, and *ratio*, and the development of an ideology associated with the central governmental task of

administering justice. He follows this with a discussion of the princely power of legislation, which was growing steadily in the period, and formed the core of another element of the ideology created by ducal officers. The principal purpose of legislation in this ideology, he argues, was the *reformatio* of 'bad customs', which secured the *bien publicque*: the final object of all princely government. He next discusses the officers' vision of themselves as active parts of the 'body' of the state, whose head was the prince, and then the dialectical framework within which they made their arguments and pronounced their judgements. He concludes with a 'profile' of the knowledge evinced by the officers in question, and shows that – if not for the most part systematically educated in the manner of a university doctor – they were typically familiar with a wide variety of texts and comments in the fields of philosophy, theology, literature, history, and medicine, both classical and contemporary, and functioned as what Gramsci called 'organic intellectuals' of the Burgundian state.

The second essay in our collection is related to the first in part because it is largely devoted to an examination of the practical contribution to the cohesion of the Burgundian state made by another set of Burgundian officers – the heralds under their chief *Toison d'or* or Golden Fleece king-of-arms (through much of our period the knight Jehan Le Fevre de St Remy) – and those whom they and the dukes employed to exemplify the emblematic elements of their profession or 'mystery'. This profession was itself concerned with virtually every aspect of the life and distinctive ideology of the contemporary noble estate, whose members saw themselves as constituting collectively one of the two governing elements of the state (the other being the clergy), and who in practice supplied all of the kings and princes of our period – not least the Dukes of Burgundy – with many of their most important officers. Indeed Arjo Vanderjagt had earlier shown how closely the notion of nobility had come to be related to that of the state in his *Qui sa vertu anoblist*, and the demands of the nobiliary ideology of 'knightliness' or 'chivalry' had long constituted important elements of what Dumolyn described as the 'normative political theory' of the thirteenth through sixteenth centuries. Early in the dominate of Philip the Good, the ideals of chivalry and of the nobility in Burgundy were institutionally embodied in the Order of the Golden Fleece, which not only incorporated the leading members of the Noble Estate of the whole Burgundian domain in a single confraternal association, but immediately became the centre of the activities of the newly-created office of the Burgundian chief herald, *Toison d'or*. The second essay, therefore, by the Canadian historian and heraldist D'A. J. D. Boulton, examines the role played both by the Order as such and by the Burgundian heralds in promoting a sense of common Burgundian nationality among the members not only of the Order itself, but of the nobility generally, and even the ordinary subjects of the Burgundian dukes. The dukes from 1430 onwards – Habsburg no less than Valois – made constant

use in a great variety of contexts of the insignia of their knightly order, and
did so both in association with their own persons and images, and in asso-
ciation with their arms, their achievements, and the whole array of para-
heraldic emblems – badges, mottoes, and cyphers – which they, like most
contemporary princes, adopted both on a temporary and on a long-term
basis. Most of these paraheraldic emblems (including the golden fleece
itself, the flint-and-firesteel emitting flames, and the image and cross of St
Andrew in numerous different forms) were associated in some way or other
with the myths and legends also employed by the dukes to justify their rule
and claims and to demonstrate their historical legitimacy: myths and
legends examined both in the sixth essay in our collection, by Graeme
Small, and in the seventh, by Jan Veenstra. By thus constantly employing
the insignia of their order in association with their heraldic and paraheraldic
emblems throughout their disparate dominions, the dukes not only identi-
fied themselves, their dynasties, and their 'state' with the highest ideals of
chivalry that it was supposed to represent, and with the myths and legends
the emblems themselves alluded to, but presented to their subjects of all
ranks a visual expression of the essential unity of their commonwealth.

The third essay in the collection, by the Swiss historian Bernhard
Sterchi, follows seamlessly from the second, for it discusses one of the cen-
tral elements of the group ideology of the Knights Companion of the Order
of the Golden Fleece: initially a collection of thirty eminent barons and
knights from all over the Burgundian domain, increasingly joined by prin-
ces and kings with whom successive Burgundian dukes were closely allied.
The element in question is *reputation*, which may usefully be seen as the
part of general esteem that is based on perceived behaviour rather than
ascribed status, and is thus one of the two bases for a claim to honour, or the
formal public expression of esteem. Sterchi is particularly concerned with
the moral side of reputation thus defined, which in general terms involves
the general recognition of behaviour that conforms to a moral code that is
either broadly societal or peculiar to the particular unit of society to which
the person esteemed belongs. As Sterchi asserts, all members of the Bur-
gundian court, and more particularly the Knights of the Golden Fleece,
claimed to constitute a community of elevated moral values; their implicit
claim to be superior to the mass of the population, and thus worthy of
sharing in the government of the prince, rested to a great extent on this
claim. It can also be said that the legitimacy of the Burgundian dukes as
rulers, and their claims to an effective independence from higher authori-
ties, was no less founded on their own reputations and on those of their
courtiers and officers – especially the Knights of the Golden Fleece, who as
we just noted were officially presented as paragons of chivalric virtue, and
had to submit to the criticism of their fellows at a special meeting held
during the course of every Chapter, and could be punished or even expelled
from the Order for moral failures. Indeed, the legitimacy of the Noble

Estate as a whole was increasingly defended in the fifteenth century by treatises whose central proposition was that *true* nobility depended upon the virtues of its individual members, and that virtue itself ennobled – at least in this moral sense, and ideally in the social sense as well. The relationships between these ideas and the political notion of the *chose publicque* in Burgundian thought has already been demonstrated by Arjo Vanderjagt.

Sterchi argues that reputation was 'the connection between people or their actions on the one hand, and social values on the other', and that it therefore constituted the 'medium by which someone's morality is created in public'. To demonstrate this, he examines the place of moral values both in a number of treatises composed by Burgundian courtiers, and in the records of the Chapters of the Order of the Golden Fleece. He begins with a treatise composed for his son by the prominent Burgundian officer Jean de Lannoy, in 1464-65: a treatise that placed an unusual emphasis on the notion of reputation and its foundations in the principles of *bien parler* and *bien aller*. Sterchi points out that, for Lannoy, *bien parler* meant much more than merely speaking with the requisite rhetorical skill; it also involved speaking with restraint and keeping one's word, so as not to damage one's reputation, and thus undermine one's ability to influence one's fellow courtiers and nobles. He also sees nobility itself as depending upon reputation for noble virtue, in practice if not in strict law, and makes the community of courtiers the arbiters both of reputation and of the moral code on which it is based. Similar ideas run through the other works Sterchi examines in his essay, though each author had his own particular view of the relationship between moral and social nobility, and between these and reputation. Among the more interesting are those of Charles Soillot, Secretary of the Golden Fleece under Maximilian, who argued that if nobles were more virtuous than others, or at least worked harder to maintain a reputation for virtue, it was only because it paid to do so in the context of the court. Through an account of the campaign to ruin the reputation of the Croÿ clan by Charles the Bold, Sterchi also shows how damaging in practice it could be to a courtier to lose his reputation, even by unfounded slander. He concludes with a description and analysis of the effects of the decisions of the Chapter of the Order to expel knights who had been judged guilty of serious offences. Public damage to their reputations was achieved in part through the slighting of the panels bearing their armorial bearings that had been set up above their stall in the church where the Order had most recently met – or in extreme cases, all of the churches where such a panel had ever been erected. The intensity and persistence of the campaigns mounted by their kinsmen to undo these formal acts of dishonour demonstrate very effectively how important reputation really was to members of noble lineages, and confirm the social power both of the ideology of the Burgundian court and of the Order of the Golden Fleece in which that ideology was embodied.

With the fourth essay in the collection, by the German historian Malte Prietzel, we return to the subject of ducal propaganda, in this case verbal rather than visual. Scholars have only recently begun to take an interest in propagandistic speeches, and until now have concentrated their attention on the extent to which they reflected the neo-Classical rhetorical principles of contemporary humanists; in keeping with the themes of the colloquium, Prietzel chose instead to concentrate on 'the importance of speeches for Burgundian propaganda and self-awareness'. With these goals in mind, his essay examines the speeches composed and delivered in support of Duke Philip the Good and his state by the single most important propagandist in this field: Guillaume Fillastre the Younger, from 1437 successively Bishop of Verdun, of Toul, and finally of Tournai, from 1440 a councillor of the Duke of Burgundy, from 1457 until his death in 1473 President of the ducal Council, and from 1461 until his death Chancellor of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Fillastre was a brilliant lawyer and diplomat, a zealous prelate, and a highly effective and well-regarded orator, and for more than three decades served the emergent Burgundian state exceptionally well in all of these capacities. There is reason to think that he delivered scores of at least partially political and propagandistic speeches on such occasions as meetings of the Estates General and of the Chapter of the Golden Fleece, but of these only 39 are actually documented, and only seven have survived either in their original words or in a complete translation – indicating that they were all composed primarily for oral delivery rather than later publication. Rather than analyse the contents of these in detail, Prietzel examines relevant aspects of their form and contents, the circumstances in which they were delivered, and the reaction of contemporary auditors. His object in doing this is to indicate some of the more important ways in which speeches could be used to political ends, and the real effectiveness of well-written and delivered speeches in achieving such ends in the fifteenth century.

With the fifth contribution the focus of attention shifts from political rhetoric to ideologically motivated fiction. The American literary historian David Wrisley deals with Jehan Wauquelin's prose translations of the verse epics *La Manekine* and *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople* – works that primarily catered for the romantic tastes of the ducal court but that nevertheless display important ideological features both in the linguistic process of translation and in the narrative closures that seek to transform social life into a natural reality. Working for Philip the Good and the Croÿ family, Wauquelin produced a number of translations such as Jacques de Guise's *Annals of Hainaut*, *Girart de Roussillon*, and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*. The introductions to these fifteenth-century translations and rewritings usually claim to refashion and update the language of past centuries, but in doing so they also create a new social idiom and hence new identities. The stories of *La Manekine* and *La Belle Hélène* both deal with the fate of a female protagonist who flees the incestuous

desire of her father but in the end is restored in her former dignity. This disintegration and restoration of social order allows the translator to infuse older narratives of family and nation with newer notions of state integration and princely authority. In addition to that, *La Belle Hélène* contains a historical setting in which the Byzantine and Latin emperors join forces to protect Rome against a pagan king called Bruyant. This clear reference to the crusading ideal is topped by subtle historical insertions: the emperor of Constantinople retires to a monastery which enjoyed the patronage of Philip the Good. In this way Wauquelin links the Burgundian duke with Constantinople and the greater ideals of Christendom, which include not only the battle against Islam but also the unification of the Western and the Eastern Churches – an ideal publicly expressed by Philip the Good.

Wauquelin is known for emphasising in his works a stable and divinely governed order. This was, however, an order brought in line with the ideas on church and state current in fifteenth-century Burgundian politics. For example, in his reworked narratives Wauquelin diminishes the role of the pope and places the secular ruler centre stage. Indeed, he places a particular emphasis on the ruler's secular status, downplays the assumed sanctity of the monarch, and even creates room in his narrative for doctrinal references to the *chose publicque* as the main objective of the political order. Saintliness, however, does feature in the depictions of chivalry and martyrdom, and in this way serves the ideological interests of courtly ceremonial knighthood. David Wrisley's analysis of Wauquelin's works contributes to a better understanding of the ideological dimensions of the Burgundian literary production especially in those works in which Burgundian history and politics are not directly thematised.

Naturally the Burgundian literary universe also contains many works that do bring out the political and dynastic pretensions of the duke, and one of these works is the focus of following essay. The contribution by the British historian Graeme Small is the first of two that explicitly deal with the literature produced to support the ducal endeavour to obtain a royal title. Of the three possible kingdoms that Philip the Good and Charles the Bold could choose from, namely Frisia, Lotharingia and Burgundy, it was the ancient kingdom of Burgundy that most appealed to their temperament. Their pretensions are reflected in an abridged chronicle, the *Chronique des royz*, attributed to Philippe Martin, of which no less than 46 manuscripts and five printed editions are extant. The chronicle begins with the conversion of the first king and queen of Burgundy to Christianity by Mary Magdalene and proceeds through a long line of Burgundian saints and kings to the fifteenth-century Valois dukes and – in some copies – even beyond to the Emperor Charles V. The *Chronique des royz* is markedly hostile towards the French and takes care to omit the French descent of the Valois dukes. The chronicle was composed during the reign of Charles the Bold and can be seen as a clear result of a process of accumulating and creating

evidence for the legitimating claims of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy –
a process more or less initiated by Philip the Good. At the duke's behest,
Jean Wauquelin wrote a lavish prose account of the exploits of the ninth-
century ruler of Burgundy, Girart de Roussillon. The chronicler Hugues de
Tolins was commissioned by Philip the Good to do research into the history
of the kings and dukes of ancient Burgundy and write a chronicle: a project
that was never completed, although his materials in all likelihood con-
tributed to the composition of the *Chronique des royz*. Jean Germain, Jean
Jouffroy and Jean Poinçot had recourse to the ancient kingdom of Burgundy
in their speeches and diplomatic activities to underscore Burgundian author-
ity and territorial claims. It was, however, under Charles the Bold that
claims to a Burgundian crown reached their apex, notably at Trier in 1473
when the Emperor Frederick III, for a while, was willing to grant Charles a
territorial kingdom. It is very probable, Small argues, that the *Chronique
des royz* was written in exactly that period to bolster Charles' claims. The
failure at Trier may have shattered Charles' regal pretensions, it did not, in
the long run, cause the *Chronique* to become obsolete. The Habsburg rulers,
who saw themselves as heirs of Burgundian culture, and in whose eyes the
Valois Burgundian period was a Golden Age, took a lively interest in the
book, and so did the French – albeit mainly to criticise the work for its
errors and fictions. Graeme Small's analysis of its composition history, and
of the contexts in which it functioned, clearly demonstrates the importance
of the *Chronique des royz*, and shows how it became a vehicle for Bur-
gundian claims to a throne.

In the second contribution devoted – in part – to the regal ambitions of
the Burgundian dukes, the dukes' quest for a crown is embedded in a more
encompassing analysis of the development of Burgundian autonomy. As the
Dutch historian Jan Veenstra argues in this essay, nascent states by nature
develop ideologies and national mythologies to strengthen their self-deter-
mination, and the production of Burgundian literature, comprising among
other things scholarly works, propaganda, and romances, can be seen to
contribute in varying degrees to the self-definition, in the first place, of the
ducal court but gradually also of the instruments of power and the domains
governed by them. This imposition of Burgundian identity was brought
about – perhaps even unintentionally – by an act of violence (the assassin-
nation of Louis d'Orléans) that spawned a body of self-justificatory liter-
ature in which the outlines of personal and domanial autonomy can be
traced. In a work like the *Livre des trahisons* feudal loyalty can be seen to
transform into innate royalty. This oscillation between loyalty and royalty is
a marked characteristic of the literature surrounding the Frisian kingship
which, though coveted by the Burgundian dukes, certainly came second
place in their regal ambitions. Traces of Frisian kings and dukes (loyal allies
of Charlemagne who gave them their freedom) can be found in many
*chansons de geste*, and a fifteenth-century *Livre du Roy Rambaux de Frise*

(probably a Burgundian production) brings together materials from the *chansons* and obligingly offers the Frisian throne to a valiant knight from the south. The modest literature of Frisian kingship provides an excellent example of how literary sources and productions can accommodate princely ambitions and state ideology.

The final contribution to the volume is a case study by the Dutch historian Rob Stein on one of the mythical echoes of Valois Burgundy in the Low Countries. These lands formed a variable territorial entity on the frontiers of the Holy Roman Empire and France, and it was the Burgundian dukes who managed to impose a more lasting structure on them – a political union that was formalised by Emperor Charles V in 1547-1549 but that split up again in the 1580s. From the sixteenth century onwards the Low Countries were referred to as the Seventeen Netherlands or Seventeen Provinces, and historians have been puzzled by what the number seventeen exactly refers to. It might refer to seventeen principalities, but historians on the whole seem to agree on a set of fifteen rather than seventeen, which leaves two principalities to be accounted for. Alternatively, the number might refer to the titles of the Burgundian dukes. In an attempt to solve the enigma of the nomenclature of the Low Countries, Stein begins by listing several sixteenth-century references to the number seventeen, including the seventeen coats of arms that appear regularly in old prints, or the seventeen provinces that appear in cartographic representations of the Low Countries, in works by Guicciardini, Jan van der Noot, Emanuel van Meteren, and in the *Geuzenliedboek*. The oldest of this type of references dates back to 1568 (and one possibly even to 1548) so that awareness of the seventeen Netherlands was certainly caused by the union formalised by Charles V in 1547. Yet, strikingly enough, a clear parallel can be found a century earlier in the seventeen Burgundian lands. References to these lands can be found in fifteenth-century plays, chronicles, paintings and seals, with the earliest known reference dating back to 1466. Also in Habsburg times 'seventeen' was still a popular number. Generally speaking, the use of the number seventeen in the fifteenth century seems to have been based on a dynastic argument whereas its use in the sixteenth century involved a territorial-political argument; this, however, does not contradict the fact that the latter was derived from the former.

Taking his cue from Johan Huizinga, Stein finally argues that 'seventeen' had best be looked upon as a symbolic, non-specific number. The number features in several proverbs; Cusanus speaks of the seventeen languages of the nations; there was a general belief that there were seventeen Christian kingdoms, and seventeen also had a heraldic meaning. In the context of the bible and the traditions of the early Church, the symbolic dimensions of the number become even more explicit. After the dispensation of the Spirit, the bible lists seventeen peoples, hence the seventeen Christian nations. The combination of the numbers ten and seven refers to

Divine revelation and the unity of the Christian Faith. With the sanctification of the *patria* in the later Middle Ages, seventeen may well have been the most fitting number to emphasize the unity and sanctity of the state – certainly for Charles the Bold, the chosen prince ruling his promised lands. Later references to the Seventeen Netherlands, therefore, have a distinctly Burgundian aura – a mystical remnant of a nascent state that declined in the sixteenth century.

CONTRIBUTORS

D'A. Jonathan D. Boulton, professor of history at the University of Notre Dame, studies the princely use of honorific statuses to reward loyal nobles, especially in his book *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325-1520* ([2]2000).

Jan Dumolyn is assistant professor in the Department of Medieval History at the University of Ghent. In 2001 he completed his PhD-thesis on the officials of the dukes of Burgundy in the county of Flanders (1419-1477).

Malte Prietzel, Prof. Dr. phil., Humboldt-Universität Berlin, published a biography of Guillaume Fillastre the Younger and edited some of Fillastre's speeches (*Ausgewählte Werke*, 2003).

Graeme Small is a senior lecturer in medieval history at the University of Glasgow. He is author of a study of the Burgundian chronicler George Chastelain (1997), and editor of a collection of essays entitled *The Burgundian Hero* (2001).

Robert Stein teaches medieval history at the University of Leiden. His research focuses on the development of national identities in the Low Countries during the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Times.

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# JUSTICE, EQUITY AND THE COMMON GOOD

## THE STATE IDEOLOGY OF THE COUNCILLORS OF THE BURGUNDIAN DUKES[1]

### Jan Dumolyn

*Introduction*

Members of a political society tend to justify and legitimate their actions with ideological discourses marked by certain 'key words'. The French political vocabulary from the period during the rise of the so-called 'absolutist' modern state is still insufficiently studied, and the same can be said of the 'Burgundian' political space.[2] More particularly, historians have shown little interest in the political thought of the princely officers who stood at the base of the more centralised forms of state that developed from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries onwards.[3] The late medieval period shows the production of a substantial amount of theoretical political writing, which, so far, has not received the attention it deserves. In this contribution, however, it is not my intention to undertake a classical study of the normative political theory commonly found in this type of source.[4] Neither

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[1] This contribution is an abridged and modified translation of an article originally published in Dutch in the *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis / Revue Belge de Philologie et Histoire*, 2004. I thank professors M. Boone, H. De Ridder-Symoens and Arjo Vanderjagt, dr. Jan Veenstra and drs. Céline van Hoorebeeck for their remarks. A French version of this text was delivered as a paper at the conference 'La société politique à la fin du XVe siècle dans les royaumes ibériques et en Europe occidentale: élites, peuples, sujets' (Paris, 26-27 May, 2004).

[2] J. Krynen, 'Genèse de l'État et histoire des idées politiques en France à la fin du Moyen Âge', in: *Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l'État moderne* (Rome, 1985), p. 403; see also idem, *L'empire du roi: idées et croyances politiques en France XIIIe-XVe siècle* (Paris, 1993); A. J. Vanderjagt, 'Stefano Porcari en Guillaume Hugonet over volk en recht', in: Z. Von Martels, P. Steenbakker and A. Vanderjagt, eds., *Limae labor et mora. Opstellen voor Fokke Akkerman ter gelegenheid van zijn zeventigste verjaardag* (Leende, 2000), p. 39.

[3] K. Daly, 'Private Vice or Public Service? Civil Service and *chose publique* in Fifteenth-Century France', in: A. Curry and E. Matthew, eds., *Concepts and Patterns of Service in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 118.

[4] See especially A. J. Vanderjagt, *'Qui sa vertu anoblist'. The Concepts of noblesse and chose publicque in Burgundian Political Thought* (Groningen, 1981).

will the 'constitutional' documents of this period be my point of departure. What I wish to focus on is the question of the 'practical ideology' of the princely officers of the later Middle Ages, and more specifically that of the superior officers of the Burgundian state of the fifteenth century.[5]

Following Charles Taylor, we can distinguish two different levels of political thought.[6] On the one hand, there is 'high theory', which systematically and critically examines political notions. Scholarly literature on medieval political thought mostly focuses on this kind of theory. It remains very difficult, however, to measure the actual influence of these learned theories on the practical politics of councillors and other medieval jurists.[7] On the other hand, there is a pre-theoretical notion of political practice as developed by the members of a society reflecting on their own constitutive role in practical politics. Such a notion is necessary for every form of political activity and recaptures some of the elements of the more learned theories.[8] In this article, I will search for the existence of such a *middlebrow ideology*, a discourse consisting of a number of elements proper to the principal agents of state formation during the late Middle Ages, that is to say the officers. How did they legitimate their political actions and which ideas were used? I will focus on the Burgundian state of the fifteenth century.

The development of a bureaucratic elite, fully aware of its own function within the state and society, can be considered as an essential factor in the state formation process. This elite identified itself with a specific ideological and symbolic discourse and trained its political personnel in the roles and the types of institutional behaviour necessary for the reproduction and the expansion of state structures.[9] We might say that social groups, more or less consciously or reflexively, select values that are fundamental for their identity and their interests to construct an ideology.[10] I therefore consider an

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[5] J. Dumolyn, *Staatsvorming en vorstelijke ambtenaren in het graafschap Vlaanderen (1419-1477)* (Antwerpen, 2003); M. Damen, *De staat van dienst. De gewestelijke ambtenaren van Holland en Zeeland in de Bourgondische periode (1425-1482)* (Hilversum, 2000); H. Cools, *Mannen met macht. Edellieden en de Moderne Staat in de Bourgondisch-Habsburgse landen (1475-1530)* (Zutphen, 2001).

[6] C. Taylor, 'Political Theory and Practice', in: C. Lloyd, ed., *Social Theory and Political Practice* (Oxford, 1983), p. 62; A. Harding, *Medieval Law and the Foundation of the State* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 5-6.

[7] H. G. Walther, 'Über die Meszbarkeit des Einflusses politischer Theorien gelehrter Juristen des Spätmittelalters', in: J. Canning and O. G. Oexle, eds., *Political Thought and the Realities of Power in the Middle Ages* (Göttingen, 1998), pp. 241-267.

[8] Taylor, 'Political Theory' (see n. 6), pp. 62-63.

[9] J. Haldon, *The State and the Tributary Mode of Production* (London, 1993), p. 142.

[10] J. Blommaert, *The Critical Analysis of Discourse* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 111.

ideology as a unity of symbolic representations, discourses, arguments and stereotypes which serve a specific goal and are used by a specific group of actors.[11] In this case, I will look for the basic categories, the 'central signifiers' that shaped the practical ideological discourse of the late medieval officers. Not surprisingly, I will show that concepts like 'justice', 'equity' and the 'common good' were fundamental to the officers of the Burgundian state in their theoretical understanding and legitimisation of their own practical political action.

*The State in Medieval Ideology*

At first sight, the political, military and diplomatic councils that Burgundian councillors like Guillebert de Lannoy gave to their prince show a sense of pragmatism rather than a fixed ideological programme.[12] Nevertheless, I argue that behind these councils a precocious state ideology was hidden. Looking for a late medieval state ideology is inevitably anachronistic since the concept of 'state' in the modern sense of the term did not yet, or only approximately, exist. Even so, we can look for the medieval discursive categories that came closest to the notion of the state. The word *status*, from which the word 'state' is derived, had two important meanings in the political context. On the one hand it referred to the 'state' of the realm or of the common good, which could be either peaceful or in a state of trouble demanding reform. This is the *status regis et regni*, the *status regiminis* or the *status rei publicae*. On the other hand, *status* also signified the 'estate' or the legal condition or position of the persons forming a political community, as in 'the Third Estate'.[13] The state, the *status regis*, thus encompassed the entire royal *potestas*, including judges and administrators.[14] In extension, Saint Thomas and certain legists and canonists also used the word *status* for the public well-being of the community and for its necessary government.[15] It was not until the end of the fifteenth century, however, that *status* in the modern sense of the word was commonly used.[16] In this contribution, I propose to use the word 'state' in its minimalist sense of a relatively autonomous political constellation, limited in space, and aspiring for a monopoly of legitimate violence. In this sense, medieval

[11] Blommaert, *The Critical Analysis* (see n. 10), p. 167.

[12] Ch. Potvin, ed., *Œuvres de Guillebert de Lannoy* (Louvain, 1878), pp. 226-261.

[13] Harding, *Medieval Law* (see n. 6), p. 252; see also P.-L. Weinacht, *Staat: Studien zur Bedeutungsgeschichte des Wortes der Anfangen bis ins 19. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1968).

[14] G. Post, *Studies in Medieval Legal Thought. Public Law and the State, 100-1322* (Princeton, 1964), p. 346.

[15] Post, *Studies* (see n. 14), pp. 357-358.

[16] B. Guenée, 'État et nation en France au Moyen Âge', in: *Revue Historique* 237 (1967), pp. 14-18.

states were indeed worthy of their name. However, another notion was even more important in the formation of a precocious state ideology: the so-called 'bien public', the *res publica* with its analogous and concomitant terms of *utilitas publica* and *bonum commune*, to which the notions of *aequitas, ratio, justitia* and *lex* are systematically connected.

The most influential definition of *res publica* was the one that Saint Augustine (*De civitate Dei*, II, 21.2; XIX, 21.1.) borrowed of Cicero with some additional Christian accents.[17] For Marcus Tullius Cicero (*De re publica*, 39-41) the *res publica* equalled the *res populi*. This *populus* included all persons united in *iuris consensu* and *utilitatis communione*, with *justitia* as the sense and purpose of their community.[18] For this definition, Cicero based himself on the ethics of the Stoa which affirmed that the human aspiration for the public weal was a natural disposition aiming at the *eudaemonia* or the *beate et honeste vivere*.[19] Particularly for the governing *viri praestantes*, the common good was the measure, the legitimisation, the obligation and the limit of their legislating and political actions.[20] Later, the paleochristian authors integrated the love of one's neighbour in the republican notion of the common good. Isidore of Seville, who remained extremely influential throughout the Middle Ages, summarised this position in the following manner: the care of the common good was *prodesse populis*, as opposed to *nocere populis*. In this respect he also emphasised the care for the Church as an obligation of the secular sovereign. Further-more, this sovereign should have a certain number of virtues at his disposal: *justitia, clementia, misericordia, pietas, humilitas* and *resistere motus*. The opposite vices were, among others, *iniquitas, cupiditas* and *crudelitas*. *Justitia* particularly signified the existence of laws that assured the *salus populi*.[21] These motifs, originating from some kind of fusion of Roman and Christian discourses, were to appear repeatedly in Mirrors of Princes and similar writings. During the early Middle Ages, the notion of *res publica* had fallen into disuse, but since the ninth century it surfaced again in the sources. In the tenth and eleventh centuries the concept was recorded less, but since the beginning of the twelfth century its frequency once again

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[17] R. A. Markus, *Saeculum: History and Society in the Theology of Saint Augustine* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 64; M. S. Kempshall, *The Common Good in Late Medieval Political Thought* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 19-21 (Kempshall's work is a thorough elaboration of the meaning of this concept among later medieval political theorists and scholastics).

[18] P. Hibst, *Utilitas publica – Gemeiner Nutz – Gemeinwohl* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991), p. 132.

[19] *Ibidem*, p. 135.

[20] *Ibidem*, pp. 130, 136. According to Aristotle statesmen were agents of the common interest; see J. Gaudemet, 'Utilitas Publica', in: *Revue Historique de Droit Français et Étranger* 29 (1951), pp. 465-499.

[21] Hibst, *Utilitas publica* (see n. 18), pp. 154-156.

increased. Nevertheless, during this period *res publica* essentially remained an intellectualist concept and was not used in administrative practice.[22] In the later Middle Ages this expression became more and more popular and frequent in the current political language. According to the official Burgundian chronicler Georges Chastelain, it was considered the task of the prince to see to the protection and the conservation of the *bien public*.[23]

Moreover, Vanderjagt has been able to conclude that since the middle of the fifteenth century the use of Cicero's *De officiis* in northern Italy and within the Burgundian political space was changing. This text was no longer interpreted as a kind of Mirror of Princes but rather as a manual for political control over the prince. Guillaume Hugonet, chancellor of Charles the Bold, for one, read Cicero in this manner.[24] The growth of powerful cities, organised and privileged as political 'communes', and the rise of representative assemblies that had to approve princely taxation, were at the base of this evolution.

Politically emancipated subjects started using the notion of *res publica* in their own interest to assure and legitimate their participation.[25] In this way, natural law and the pursuit of the common good came to limit princely power.[26] The concept of *chose publique*, which the officers avidly used,

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[22] Y. Sassier, 'L'utilisation d'un concept romain aux temps carolingiens: la *res publica* aux IXe et Xe siècles', in: *Médiévales* 8 (1988), pp. 17-29; Y. Sassier, 'L'utilisation du concept de 'res publica' en France du Nord aux Xe, XIe et XIIe siècles', in: J. Krynen and A. Rigaudière, eds., *Droits savants et pratiques françaises du pouvoir (XIe-XVe siècles)* (Bordeaux, 1992), pp. 79-97.

[23] J. Kervyn de Lettenhove, ed., *Œuvres de Georges Chastellain* (Brussels, 1863-1866), vol. 1, pp. 14, 24: John the Fearless's political goals were 'honneur, félicité, paix, amour, union, la gloire du royaume et la conservation du bien public'. In Chastelain's chronicle, the terms *chose publique*, *bien publique* and *nécessité publique* are very frequent. The opposite of the *bien publique* was the *privé profit* (see, e.g., *ibidem*, vol. 3, pp. 98, 101, 211, 272, 287; vol. 5, p. 182). I thank dr. Graeme Small for these references.

[24] A. J. Vanderjagt, 'Expropriating the Past. Tradition and Innovation in the Use of Texts in Fifteenth-Century Burgundy', in: R. Suntrup and J. R. Veenstra, eds., *Tradition and Innovation in an Era of Change* (Frankfurt am Main, 2001), pp. 186-187; and see A. and W. Paravicini, 'L'arsenal intellectuel d'un homme de pouvoir. Les livres de Guillaume Hugonet, chancelier de Bourgogne', in: D. Boutet and J. Verger, eds., *Penser le pouvoir au Moyen Âge VIIIe-XV siècles. Études offertes à Françoise Autrand* (Paris, 2000), pp. 261-325; Vanderjagt, *'Qui sa vertu anoblist'* (see n. 4), p. 14: *De officiis*, in the original or in French translation, was relatively widespread at the Burgundian court.

[25] W. Eberhard, '„Gemeiner Nutzen" als oppositionelle Leitvorstellung im Spätmittelalter', in: M. Gerwing and G. Ruppert, eds., *Renovatio et Reformatio: wider das Bild von 'finsteren' Mittelalter: Festschrift für Ludwig Hödl zum 60. Geburtstag* (Münster, 1985), pp. 195-214.

[26] L. M. van Hijum, *Grenzen aan macht. Aspecten van politieke ideologie aan de hoven van Bourgondische en Bourgondisch-Habsburgse machthebbers tussen 1450*

could also be used against themselves. It was, for example, invoked to legitimate the execution of a number of corrupt officers in 1477.[27] Indeed, the meaning of these terms was the stake in a struggle between different groups, but nevertheless the terms were commonly used and they exerted a crucial influence on the state ideology of the later Middle Ages. However, during this period the notion of the common good cannot be considered as completely autonomous. The *bonum commune* was incarnated in the person of the king.[28] But on the other hand there were clear tendencies to dissociate the two and distinguish the prince from the common good. Sometimes this becomes clear in the administrative discourse of the Burgundian state. A servant of Philip the Good, for instance, advised him to take certain measures for the benefit *de vous et de la chose publicque*, which was clearly distinguished from the *haultesse et seignourie* of the prince.[29] State and society, therefore, were no longer identified with the person of the prince. In Skinner's view, a 'modern state ideology' should distinguish the state as a form of public power clearly separated from the prince and his subjects.[30] According to Post, a moderate version of such a reason of state already existed in the twelfth century. In other words, the prince and the state were no longer exactly the same thing.[31] Moreover, there was a tendency to acknowledge that there were contradictions as well within the notion of the *bien public*. Accordingly, Guillebert de Lannoy thought that the council of the duke should consider *le bien de tous, grans, moyens et petis*.[32] The many riots and revolts in the Burgundian Netherlands had brought home to the government that the interests of the different social groups were not always the same.

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*en 1555* (Enschede, 1999), p. 31. On natural law, see O. Lottin, *Psychologie et morale aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles. Tome II: Problèmes de morale* (Leuven, 1949).

[27] C. A. J. Armstrong, 'Les ducs de Bourgogne, interprètes de la pensée politique du 15ᵉ siècle', in: *Annales de Bourgogne* 67 (1995), p. 18; M. Boone, 'La justice en spectacle. La justice urbaine en Flandre et la crise du pouvoir "bourguignon" (1477-1488)', in: *Revue Historique* 625 (2003), pp. 43-65.

[28] J. Blanchard and J.-C. Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l'aube des temps modernes* (Paris, 2002), p. 94.

[29] J. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 'Programme d'un gouvernement constitutionnel en Belgique au XVe siècle', in: *Bulletin de la Commission Royale des Anciennes Lois et Ordonnances de la Belgique* 2/14 (1862), pp. 227-228.

[30] Q. Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 353-355.

[31] Post, *Studies* (see n. 14), pp. 301-308.

[32] Armstrong, 'Les ducs de Bourgogne' (see n. 27), p. 17; Potvin, ed., *Œuvres de Guillebert de Lannoy* (see n. 12), p. 31.

*Justice, Equity and Reason*

Closely related to the notion of the *chose publicque* was the concept of *justice*, beyond doubt the most important political idea in the entourage of the dukes of Burgundy. Justice should be taken in its broadest sense, including ethics, politics and economy.[33] The prince of the later Middle Ages remained in the first place a *rex iudex* whose principal task was to assure for his subjects the administration of an equitable justice, which in practice, of course, was the responsibility of his functionaries and judges. According to Georges Chastelain, the Burgundian duke was a *chef de justice en chrestienneté*.[34] Duke Philip the Good called himself 'a prince of justice'.[35] The idea of the administration of justice as the fundamental duty of the prince found its origins in feudal law and in the twelfth century it was explicitly approved by the Church: *legem servare, hoc est regnare*.[36] Cicero himself had written that *justitia est habitus animi communi utilitate conservata suam cuique tribuens dignitat*. The judge therefore had to protect the common weal and the social order and had to respect everyone's dignity.[37] In his *De officiis*, Cicero had defined the role of justice as the avoidance of *iniuria*, a phenomenon that was related to fraud – breaking one's promise – as well as to brutal and violent behaviour. *Justitia* thus implied *fides* and *clementia*.[38] In his *De re publica*, he had also insisted on the role of justice as a guarantee for the prosperity of all. During their negotiations on this topic with the representative assemblies, the councillors of Philip the Good were in this respect clearly inspired by his discourse.[39] Saint Augustine likewise had strongly insisted on the importance of justice in order to preserve the *res publica* defined in a Ciceronian way.[40] The thirteenth-century political theorist Giles of Rome (Aegidius Romanus) elaborated on this concept by stating that a system in which the will of the prince had

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[33] Vanderjagt, *'Qui sa vertu anoblist'* (see n. 4), p. 45.

[34] Kervyn de Lettenhove, ed., *Œuvres de Georges Chastellain* (see n. 23), vol. 1, p. 79.

[35] V. Fris, ed., *Dagboek van Gent van 1447 tot 1470 met een vervolg van 1477 tot 1515* (Gent, 1901), p. 122.

[36] M. Senellart, *Machiavélisme et raison d'État* (Paris, 1989), p. 15.

[37] G. R. Evans, *Law and Theology in the Middle Ages* (London, 2002), p. 9 (Cicero, *De inventione*, 2.53); Irnerius paraphrased this citation in his *Exordium institutionum* and his commentary on Boethius's *De divisione* and *De syllogisme hypothetico* as: *Iusticia est habitus mentis bene constitute tribuens ius suum unicuique*. [G. Otte, *Dialektik und Jurisprudenz* (Frankfurt am Main, 1971), pp. 22-23.]

[38] Q. Skinner, 'Political Philosophy', in: Q. Skinner and Ch. B. Schmitt, eds., *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 415-416 (*De officiis* 1.9.34 and 1.13.41).

[39] Vanderjagt, 'Expropriating the Past' (see n. 24), pp. 184-185.

[40] Evans, *Law and Theology* (see n. 37), p. 22.

priority over the existing human laws and conventions, was more natural
and better. As a guarantor of justice, the prince had to have at his disposal
every means of coercion. Such an autocratic view seems, for example, to
have strongly inspired the milieu around Charles the Bold.[41] Moreover,
jurisprudence was crucial in princely ideology because it was a duty
towards the Creator. According to Saint Augustine justice was a gift of God
after the fall of man.[42]

Ideologically, the princely officers of the later Middle Ages were
especially inspired by Roman Law, to which, naturally, the notion of justice
was central. Medieval jurists believed that peace and good government
resulted from the 'véritable justice'.[43] It was their task to assure this justice.
Frequently the officers expressed a sincere sense of law and equity. In 1481,
Guillaume Dommessent, master of the accounts at the *Chambre des
comptes* of Lille, wrote to his institution regarding the present condition of
the county where he was staying: *En verité, c'est une pitié de veoir et oir
chacun jour les clameurs du peuple. Justice est du tout mise en oubly. Gens
de guerre et autres de leur sorte reignent au pays.*[44] The brilliant Flemish
jurist and politician Philip Wielant expressed this 'reason of state' in the
well functioning of justice, which should not be *au prejudice de la mar-
chandise, du police et de la chose publicque,*[45] – values that corresponded to
the aspirations of the urban middle and higher classes. Indeed, there was no
real gap between the discourse of the prince and that of the majority of his
subjects with political rights. In a speech before the *collatie* of Ghent (the
great council of the city), Colard de le Clite, a high officer speaking in the
name of Duke Philip the Good, closely linked the themes of justice, good
government, peace and commerce.[46]

And just as the *res publica* or the *bonum commune, justitia* was inter-
preted in a very broad sense. Like his contemporaries, the Burgundian coun-
cillor Guillebert de Lannoy thought that the responsibility for an advan-
tageous economic situation was part of justice and the common good.

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[41] Vanderjagt, 'Expropriating the Past' (see n. 24), p. 190.

[42] H. A. Deane, *The Political and Social Ideas of Saint Augustine* (New York,
1963). The concept of justice in the writings of Saint Augustine – and in his
Christian and classical sources – has been thoroughly examined; see, among others,
H.-X. Arquillière, *L'Augustinisme politique. Essai sur la formation des théories
politiques du Moyen-Âge* (Paris, 1934), pp. 22-39.

[43] P. Van Peteghem, *De Raad van Vlaanderen en staatsvorming onder Karel V
(1515-1555). Een publiekrechterlijk onderzoek naar centralisatiestreven in de XVII
Provinciën* (Nijmegen, 1990), p. 43; R. W. Carlyle and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of
Medieval Political Thought*, vol. 6 (Edinburg/London, 1950), p. 511.

[44] Lille, Archives Départementales du Nord, B17737.

[45] J. J. De Smet, ed., 'Philippe Wielant. Recueil des antiquités de Flandre', in:
*Corpus Chronicorum Flandriae* (Bruxelles, 1865), p. 111.

[46] Fris, ed., *Dagboek van Gent* (see n. 35), p. 60.

Justice was closely associated with population growth and prosperity.[47] Hence, the offices of financial control were considered part of the administration of justice.[48] One also had to act equitably with the public finances. According to the Holland political theorist Philip of Leyden the *res fisci* was an important part of the *res publica*.[49] The Flemish subjects often expressed their discontent over the bad financial management of the princely officers.[50] As an emanation of the *bonum commune*, the princely demesne was in principle inalienable and it was up to the commissions of financial control, such as the *Chambres des comptes*, to conserve it.[51] *Fiscus* and *res publica* were clearly distinguished in the learned treatises, but nevertheless they remained closely associated.[52] For the city-dwellers the economic aspects of *justitia* and *bonum commune* were of course essential. During the assemblies of the estates they regularly complained about taxes that were too high, the competition of rural industries, irregularities caused by soldiers, monetary devaluations, infractions of their privileges by other cities and rural districts, the corruption of officers and all sorts of military adventures that disturbed the economic climate.[53]

*Res publica*, *bonum commune* and *justitia*, or their equivalents in the vernacular, constituted a central series of notions in the ideology of the later medieval officers. Moreover, these terms can be connected to another underlying idea: the concept of equity or *aequitas*.[54] Equity lay at the foundation of justice itself, and according to Cicero, and in his wake Baldus, it

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[47] C. G. Van Leeuwen, *Denkbeelden van een vliesridder. De 'Instruction d'un jeune prince' van Guillebert van Lannoy* (Amsterdam, 1975), pp. 74-76.
[48] K. Daly, 'Private Vice or Public Service?' (see n. 3), p. 111.
[49] Van Hijum, *Grenzen aan de macht* (see n. 26), p. 36; on Philip of Leyden, see: P. Leupen, *Philip of Leyden. A Fourteenth-Century Jurist* (The Hague, 1981).
[50] Kervyn de Lettenhove, 'Programme' (see n. 29), p. 233.
[51] G. Leyte, *Domaine et domanialité publique dans la France médiévale (XIIe-XVe siècles)* (Strassbourg, 1996), pp. 386-387.
[52] *Ibidem*, pp. 63-64, 89-90.
[53] V. Fris, 'Les idées politiques d'Olivier van Dixmude', in: *Bulletin de l'Académie Royale de Belgique. Classe des Lettres* 3 (1901), pp. 308-315; W. Blockmans, *De volksvertegenwoordiging in Vlaanderen in de overgang van middeleeuwen naar nieuwe tijden (1384-1506)* (Brussel, 1978), *passim*. See also the editions of the *Handelingen van de Leden en Staten van Vlaanderen* by W. Blockmans, W. Prevenier and A. Zoete, and the complaints of the revolting cities in 1436-1438 [J. Dumolyn, '"Rebelheden ende vergaderinghen". Twee Brugse documenten uit de grote opstand van 1436-1438', in: *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis* 162 (1996), pp. 297-323] and in 1477 [W. Blockmans, ed., *1477. Het algemene en de gewestelijke privilegiën van Maria van Bourgondië voor de Nederlanden* (Kortrijk-Heule, 1985)].
[54] W. Ullmann, *The Medieval Idea of Law as represented by Lucas de Penna* (New York, 1969), pp. 41-44.

was, in fact, a kind of *pietas* in public affairs.[55] Equity was therefore fundamental to medieval law, and was equated by the glossators with the notion of 'reason' in light of the specific situation and of the common good.[56] Naturally, this concept originated from classical thought. Giles of Rome was inspired by the Aristotelian concept of *epieikeia* (as developed in the *Nicomachean ethics*) in his plea for a readjustment of rigorous laws with an appeal to clemency.[57] The *epieikeia* was the virtue with which an inequitable law could be adjusted according to reason.[58] It came very close to the medieval meaning of equity. To act correctly was to govern society according to reason – the reason of the common good – which safeguarded the law in accordance with the laws of God and nature.[59] Reason connected man to natural law and to God.[60] Therefore the jurists spoke of the *ratio publicae utilitatis*.[61] Indeed, in the later Middle Ages the general idea was that good customs should be 'reasonable', meaning that they should not oppose natural law or the rights of the Church and the prince.[62] It was the task of the princely officers to judge what was equitable and rational. A *mala consuetudo* should therefore be modified when the political situation allowed it.[63]

## Legislation and Reform

Next to the administration of justice, the legislating activity of the princes became more and more important on the political and ideological levels during the later Middle Ages: the prince became a *rex lex*. The concrete legislative work was of course reserved for the qualified officers who, in

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[55] Evans, *Law and Theology* (see n. 37), pp. 22, 85.

[56] Ph. Godding, 'L'interprétation de la 'loi' dans le droit savant médiéval et dans le droit des Pays-Bas méridionaux', in: M. Van De Kerchove, ed., *L'interprétation en droit* (Bruxelles, 1978), pp. 445-447. Sometimes, Roman Law was called the *ratio scripta*; see M. Watanabe, 'Humanism, Law and Reform: Reflections on Fifteenth-Century Lawyers', in: M. Watanabe, *Concord and Reform. Nicholas of Cusa and Legal and Political Thought in the Fifteenth Century* (Aldershot, 2001), p. 27.

[57] Van Hijum, *Grenzen aan de macht* (see n. 26), pp. 31-32.

[58] J. Dunbabin, 'Government', in: J. H. Burns, ed., *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c. 350 - c. 1450* (Cambridge, 1988), p. 487.

[59] Post, *Studies* (see n. 14), p. 301.

[60] J. P. Canning, 'Law, Sovereignty and Corporation Theory, 1300-1540', in: Burns, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought* (see n. 58), p. 455.

[61] Post, *Studies* (see n. 14), p. 345.

[62] J. Gilissen, *Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental: 41. La coutume* (Turnhout, 1982), pp. 30-31.

[63] M. Boone, 'Diplomatie et violence d'État. La sentence rendue par les ambassadeurs et conseillers du roi de France, Charles VII, concernant le conflit entre Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne, et Gand en 1452', in: *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* 156 (1990), pp. 1-54.

this field as well, were inspired by a number of learned concepts. The supremacy of the law was fundamental in medieval society and in medieval thought. Indeed, the law did not only express the will of the prince, but also the life, the customs and the moral principles of the community and *justitia* in general.[64] According to Thomas Aquinas, a political authority should represent the community with the will and obligation to realise the common good by means of the law:[65] *lex est quaedam rationis ordinatio ad bonum commune, ab eo qui curam communitatis habet, promulgata.*[66] During the Middle Ages, the law was the supreme moral authority. By means of the law, moral values were passed on to society and applied in daily life.[67] Though the law maintained a relative autonomy, it nevertheless crystallised in the person of the prince. The latter was the incarnation of the law, the *lex animata* that was responsible for justice and the common good.[68] The legislative initiatives did not only emanate from the prince. The centrality of the *utilitas rei publicae* and the *bien commun* was also the *Leitmotiv* in the discourses of those who in later medieval French history are known as the *reformateurs*, officers, delegates in representative assemblies, and scholars who strove for social reforms.[69]

The idea of reform was strongly present in the political thought of the fifteenth century. The conciliarist movement and the work of someone like Nicholas of Cusa are the best examples of this tendency. But in line with the idea of reforming the Church, later medieval intellectuals also reflected on the reform of the Empire, and this influence on the secular level also became clear in other areas.[70] During the later Middle Ages, the notion of *reformatio* underwent a gradual shift in meaning. From the typical medieval idea of *re-formatio* as the 'restoration' of an older, previous situation or ancient custom, it evolved into a concept of the progressive improvement of the condition of the realm by means of written laws that reconciled the needs of the prince and those of the people. Corrupt officers, a defective administration of justice, economic and monetary stability, in short all that was included in the medieval conception of *chose publicque* formed the fixed elements in this ideological discourse.[71]

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[64] Carlyle and Carlyle, *A History* (see n. 43), vol 6.3; W. Ullmann, *Law and Politics in the Middle Ages: An Introduction to the Sources of Medieval Political Ideas* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 28.

[65] Hibst, *Utilitas publica* (see n. 18), pp. 186-188.

[66] *Summa theologiae*, I-II, q. 90, art. 4: quoted in Lottin, *Psychologie et morale* (see n. 26), pp. 12-24.

[67] A. Black, *Guilds and Civil Society in European Political Thought from the Twelfth Century to the Present* (London, 1984), p. 81.

[68] A. Gurevich, *Categories of Medieval Culture* (London, 1985), pp. 155, 164, 194.

[69] Blanchard and Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir* (see n. 28), p. 109.

[70] Watanabe, 'Humanism, Law and Reform' (see n. 56), p. 30.

[71] Harding, *Medieval Law* (see n. 6), p. 254.

Reforms became a *topos* in the political discourse of the later Middle Ages and here we can retrace the conceptual influence of classical juridical thought. The great medieval jurists (and in particular the commentators or postglossators like Baldus and Bartolus) adapted the two learned systems of law to the political needs and forms of the moment.[72] This 'bartolism', also known as the *mos italicus*, was unmistakably influential in the Netherlands. Philip of Leyden thought that the prince should revoke every privilege that could harm the *utilitas publica*.[73] The ideological starting point of Philip Wielant, another 'bartolist', was clearly the strengthening of the secular power of the prince.[74] A similar idea, according to which insufficient or irrational laws should be changed and the spirit of the law always had priority over the letter, was also present in the writings of Guillebert de Lannoy.[75] Naturally, this kind of reform did not meet with unanimous approval. In the later medieval sources we can find numerous negative remarks about the principles of Roman Law as applied by learned officers.[76]

*The Body of the State*

It will be clear that the notions that I have discussed so far – namely *bonum commune*, *res* or *utilitas publica*, *justitia*, *aequitas*, *ratio*, *lex* and *reformatio* – constituted a coherent and functional semantic field that was at the very foundation of the later medieval state ideology. However, this functionality can only be understood in light of the typical medieval 'organological' world view in which the state was looked upon a 'body politic'. The world was a macrocosm governed by God and the human body was a microcosm governed by the soul. The head of the political body was the prince, who established a relation with his subjects as if they were his 'members'. This head represented the public interest.[77] The political community was there-fore a functional organism in which every member had a *vocatio* or a role that he had to fulfil.[78] In a kind of 'unity in diversity' the different elements

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[72] J. Canning, 'Italian Juristic Thought and the Realities of Power in the Fourteenth Century', in: Canning and Oexle, eds., *Political Thought* (see n. 7), pp. 230-232.

[73] Post, *Studies* (see n. 14), p. 243.

[74] Van Hijum, *Grenzen aan de macht* (see n. 26), p. 111.

[75] D. M. Bell, *L'idéal éthique de la royauté en France au Moyen Âge d'après quelques moralistes de ce temps* (Paris, 1962), pp. 59-60.

[76] Krynen, 'Les légistes « tyrans de la France » ? Le témoignage de Jean Juvenal des Ursins, docteur *in utroque*', in: Krynen and Rigaudière, eds., *Droits savants* (see n. 22), p. 282.

[77] Gurevich, *Categories* (see n. 68), p. 163.

[78] J. M. Najemy, 'The Republic's Two Bodies: Body Metaphors in Italian Renaissance Political Thought', in: A. Brown, ed., *Language and Images of Renaissance Italy* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 238-241; T. Struve, 'The Importance of the Organism in

had their functions (*officia*) which were organically linked.[79] Although there were classical antecedents of this theory, it was the twelfth-century political theorist John of Salisbury who definitively systematised this organic analogy: the state is more than the sum of its members. Every part has a specific function in the realisation of the *salus rei publicae*, supported by a condition of *aequitas* and *pax* like a natural harmony. For the realisation of *aequitas* the government requires *sapientia*. Thus, according to John of Salisbury, the equity within the body politic has the same function as the soul in the human body.[80] In his *Policraticus* the king is the head, the priest is the soul and the councillors constitute the heart. The eyes, ears and tongue are the judicial officers, the hand bearing a weapon is the army, the hand without a weapon is justice and the feet represent the people. If the inferior members of the body oppose the common good, it is the duty of the prince to correct them.[81]

Hence, the officers, who reproduced these metaphors abundantly, were in their own conception an organic part of the state. John of Salisbury himself was strongly influenced by Roman Law and his interpretations remained popular amongst the jurists of the later Middle Ages.[82] The French legists identified the prince with the *caput regni* and with the whole *corpus* as well, a body that also included the magistrates. The commentators, for their part, considered the city or the realm on the one hand as a corporation, as a body composed of a multiplicity of persons, and on the other hand as a unitary and abstract entity. Contrary to the glossators, these post-glossators considered the corporation as an entity largely surpassing the sum of its parts. This abstraction was a considerable step forward in the thought on the state.[83]

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the Political Theory of John of Salisbury', in: M. Wilks, ed., *The World of John of Salisbury* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 303-319.
[79] See W. Ullmann, *The Individual and Society in the Middle Ages* (Methuen, 1967), pp. 40-43; this vision was for the first time formulated by O. Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1900) [translation by F. W. Maitland of *Das Deutsche Genossenschaftsrecht* (Berlin, 1868-1913)] and see the critique by E. Lewis, 'Organic Tendencies in Medieval Political Thought', in: *American Political Science Review* 32 (1938), pp. 849-876.
[80] Struve, 'The Importance of the Organism' (see n. 78), p. 312.
[81] C. J. Nederman and K. Langdon Forhan, eds., *Medieval Political Theory. A Reader. The Quest for the Body Politic, 1100-1400* (London, 1993), p. 27; C. C. J. Webb, ed., John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* (Oxford, 1909), VI.20, 619c; J. Canning, *A History of Political Thought 300-1450* (London/New York, 1996), pp. 111-112.
[82] W. Ullmann, 'John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* in the later Middle Ages', in: K. Hauck and H. Mordek, eds., *Geschichtsschreibung und Geistiges Leben im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Heinz Löwe zum 65. Geburtstag* (Köln/Wien, 1978), pp. 520, 524, 528.
[83] K. Pennington, 'Law, Sovereignty and Corporation Theory, 1300-1450', in: Burns, *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought* (see n. 58), pp. 473-

*Frameworks of Thought and Logic*

As we have seen, the organological metaphor of the later Middle Ages pro-
duced an image of the position of the officers in society that was, in fact,
hardly original or innovative and that already had a long list of historical
antecedents. Nevertheless, the innovative tendencies, of which the officers
were the social agents, were of decisive importance for the development of
state and society, as well as for the development of the thought on state and
society. Since the thirteenth century, these 'proto-bureaucrats' constructed
their own institutions. They had 'administrative tools' at their disposal such
as writing and the law. The officers introduced an administrative rigour in
the careful registration of decisions. Inductively, jurists were looking for
*regulae*. According to the Digests, the conjunction of different legal cases
created a rule of law when their common essence appeared, just as in
Euclidian logic.[84] The officers applied a way of thinking that was typical for
canon law and scholastic thought or (Aristotelian) *dialectica*, using methods
like the *distinctio*,[85] the *disputatio*[86] (the dialectical reconciliation of contra-
dictory texts or opinions), or the *inquisitio*. The medieval dialectical method
started deductively from a certain basic principle and tried to resolve contra-
dictions, for example between different sources of law, by means of the
mental operation of distinction (and subdistinctions and subdivisions) to
find the common denominator between contradictory passages. This move-
ment took place in three stages: *positio – oppositio – solutio*.[87] Of great
importance for the development of the ways of thinking of the officers was
the *topica* as a doctrine of argumentation typical for the jurists, a method for
finding truths.[88] In the Middle Ages, the *topica* was inspired by Cicero's *De
inventione*. It included a body of illustrative anecdotes and examples to

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474; J. P. Canning, 'The Corporation in the Political Thought of the Italian Jurists of
the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries', in: *History of Political Thought* 1 (1980),
pp. 9-32.
[84] Evans, *Law and Theology* (see n. 37), p. 77.
[85] See P. Weimar, 'Die legistische Literatur der Glossatorenzeit', in: H. Coing, ed.,
*Handbuch der Quellen und Literatur der neueren Europäischen Privatrechts-
geschichte*, vol. 1 (München, 1973), pp. 142-143.
[86] N. Horn, 'Die legistische Literatur der Kommentatoren und der Ausbreitung des
gelehrten Rechts', in: Coing, ed., *Handbuch* (see n. 85), pp. 333-336; J. Marenbon,
*Later Medieval Philosophy (1150-1650). An Introduction* (London/New York,
1987), pp. 10-14.
[87] Ullmann, *Law and Politics* (see n. 64), p. 87; E. C. C. Coppens, 'L'interprétation
analogique des termes de droit romain en droit canonique médiéval', in: O. Weijers
ed., *Actes du colloque 'Terminologie de la vie intellectuelle au moyen âge'.
Leyde/La Haye 20-21 septembre 1985* (Turnhout, 1988), pp. 54-64; Evans, *Law and
Theology* (see n. 37), pp. 76-80.
[88] J. Schröder, *Recht als Wissenschaft. Geschichte der juristischen Methode vom
Humanismus bis zur historischen Schule (1500-1800)* (München, 2001), pp. 23-26.

support an argument logically, without, for instance, the explicit use of a syllogism. 'Petites histoires' of this kind also included political or juridical cases or *quaestiones*, true or hypothetical. This renewed casuistic and juridical thought was also expressed in the *consilia* delivered by the jurists in case of difficult questions.[89]

*A Profile of Knowledge*

The following question can now be raised: to what degree did the late-medieval officers assimilate all these forms of sometimes very learned knowledge? There is good reason to think that many did, at least to some extent. An important functionary like Guillaume Fillastre insisted several times on the importance of science and study for the princely officers, since the princes themselves very often lacked this knowledge.[90] Nevertheless, in his mirror of princes, Guillebert de Lannoy affirmed that he was neither *clerc ne aprins de lettres*.[91] In fact, he possessed a certain general culture that was doubtlessly proper to the larger part of the superior officers. According to his own saying, he based himself on the *philosophes et anciens peres*.[92] One could remain vague about these typical *auctoritates*, who were generally known only in a fragmentary way because of the diffusion of all sorts of *florilegia*[93] and partial translations, and nevertheless draw from general discursive reservoirs that made up the framework of the – transforming – contemporary ideologies. Besides, the learned sciences did not constitute the only foundation of the ideological legitimisation of the 'modern state' and they were not even its principal pillars. All sorts of other, more traditional, ideological elements, coming from chivalric culture, popular creed or popular conceptions of history like the foundation myths of kingdoms and dynasties, were also integrated into it.[94] For instance, in his

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[89] Evans, *Law and Theology* (see n. 37), p. 72; J. Green-Pedersen, *The Tradition of the Topics in the Middle Ages* (München, 1984); and see also: Marenbon, *Later Medieval Philosophy* (see n. 86), pp. 40-41; Otte, *Dialektik* (see n. 37), pp. 186-225; J. J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages. A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1974), pp. 6-10.

[90] H. Häyrinen, ed., *Guillaume Fillastre. Le traittié de conseil* (Jyväskylä, 1984), p. 25. On Fillastre's speeches, see M. Prietzel, *Guillaume Fillastre der Jüngere (1400/07-1473). Kirchenfürst und herzoglich-Burgundischer Rat* (Stuttgart, 2001), pp. 407-416, and also Prietzel's contribution in the present volume. On the typical contents of the ducal library, see: Van Hijum, *Grenzen aan macht* (see n. 26), pp. 19-23.

[91] Van Leeuwen, *Denkbeelden van een vliesridder* (see n. 47), pp. 7, 10, 56.

[92] *Ibidem*, p. 36.

[93] O. Weijers, *Le maniement du savoir. Pratiques intellectuelles à l'époque des premières universités (XIIIe-XIVe siècles)* (Turnhout, 1996), pp. 24-33.

[94] J. Verger, *Les gens de savoir en Europe à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1997), p. 145.

speech before the Estates General in 1475, chancellor Guillaume Hugonet declared to be a supporter of centralisation and of a strong monarchy, legitimated with natural law and with historical arguments (such as the conquest of Belgium by Julius Caesar) to demonstrate that the dukes of Burgundy were natural princes and not tyrants.[95]

By giving some examples, we can get a more concrete idea of the 'profile of knowledge' – and therefore of the ideological inspiration – of a qualified officer of the later Middle Ages. The content of the library of the eminent jurist and politician Philip Wielant gives us some information on what a qualified officer had read: texts and comments on civil and canon law, a bit of Aristotelian philosophy, some classics of theology, a number of works by Cicero and Boethius, classical and contemporary literature and historiography and, finally, some medical works.[96] The three speeches by Guillaume Hugonet, addressed to delegates, diplomats and other members of political society, as interpreted by Vanderjagt, show us a profile of knowledge of this superior officer that perfectly incarnates the political practice. His theoretical inspirations consisted of, among others, Aristotle (and a pseudo-Aristotle), Seneca (and a pseudo-Seneca), Saint Augustine, Orosius, Caesar, Lactantius, Bartolus and Baldus.[97] Moreover, a lot of late-medieval officers had naturally studied at universities where they had also assimilated a certain dose of clerical culture, which made up a rather traditional ideological base. The Church offered organisational structures and ideas also to those who had not studied at a university.[98] However, it is important to note the existence of a certain discursive 'laicisation', in the sense that among the late-medieval officers, the monopoly on the production of knowledge applied in society was no longer under the exclusive control of the servants of the Church.[99] This 'cultural capital' is only one dimension of what Pierre Bourdieu called the 'informational capital'. Knowledge is power. Administrative inquiries were executed by and for the

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[95] Armstrong, 'Les ducs de Bourgogne' (see n. 27), pp. 6-8; J. Cuvelier, J. Dhondt and R. Doehaerd, eds., *Actes des États Généraux des anciens Pays-Bas*, vol. 1 (Bruxelles, 1948), pp. 178-179.

[96] D. Van Den Auweele, G. Tournoy and J. Monballyu, 'De bibliotheek van Filips Wielant (1483)', in: *Lias* 8 (1981), pp. 146-187; A. Derolez, B. Victor and W. Bracke, *Corpus catalogorum Belgii: The Medieval Booklists of the Southern Low Countries. 3: County of Flanders, Provinces of East Flanders, Antwerp and Limburg* (Brussels, 1999), pp. 120-125.

[97] A. J. Vanderjagt, 'Frans-Bourgondisch geleerde politici in de vijftiende eeuw', in: *Theoretische Geschiedenis* 16 (1989), pp. 406-408.

[98] F. Autrand, 'Culture et mentalité. Les librairies des gens du Parlement au temps de Charles VI', in: *Annales. Économies. Sociétés. Civilisations* 28 (1973), p. 1242.

[99] H. De Ridder-Symoens, 'Training and Professionalization', in: W. Reinhard, ed., *Power Elites and State Building*, The Origins of the Modern State in Europe, 13th-18th Century, vol. 4 (Oxford,1996), p. 150.

state. Information was gathered, ordered and provided for by the agents of the state. However, the most important aspect is the 'theoretical unification' realised by the state that took up the responsibility for all the operations that 'totalise', 'objectify' and 'codify'. In this respect, we can speak of a 'cognitive centralisation' and 'monopolisation' by the qualified officers.[100] In this sense, the officers constituted a new group of 'intellectuals', who, for the first time since the beginning of the Middle Ages, challenged the clerical monopoly of theoretical knowledge.

*Organic Intellectuals of the State*

In a brilliant essay, Jacques Le Goff dealt with the 'intellectuals of the Middle Ages', but perhaps this phrase is not so self-evident.[101] Without a doubt, the medieval intellectuals showed specific features, but in what way can we compare them to intellectuals in other types of societies as far as their social function is concerned? According to John Bartier, the Burgundian officers figured among the most cultivated persons of their time.[102] This is probably correct, but how do we avoid the arbitrary nature of this kind of statement to arrive at a sensible definition of the intellectual in the later Middle Ages? Furthermore, were the intellectuals a specific kind of 'laicised cleric'? According to Jacques Verger, who in his recent book has tried to update Le Goff's study, the majority of officers at the central level of the state deserved the designation of *gens de savoir*, a term which he nevertheless equated with 'intellectual'. Even if not all of them held a university degree, at the court or in the chancellery the officers received a juridical and rhetorical training. Things were different, however, for the local officers like the bailiffs or the local receivers.[103] Clearly, not all of the officers were 'intellectuals', but in principle we can consider the superior officers, the members of the central or provincial courts of law and the *Chambres des comptes*, to be so. They made their decisions following an abstract discourse. They spoke the language of the state which they constructed themselves and they were the first 'penseurs-fonctionnaires'. Verger has fruitfully applied the Gramscian concept of 'organic intellectuals' to the later medieval officers. This means that they were not really creative thinkers, they did not spread systems of knowledge, but at any rate they assured the diffusion of certain fragmentary elements of learned dis-

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[100] P. Bourdieu, 'Rethinking the State: Genesis and Structure of the Bureaucratic Field', in: *Sociological Theory* 12 (1994), p. 45.
[101] J. Le Goff, *Les intellectuels au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1957).
[102] J. Bartier, 'De ambtenaren. Het Bourgondisch tijdvak', in: *Flandria Nostra*, vol. 5 (Antwerpen, 1960), p. 367.
[103] Verger, *Les gens de savoir* (see n. 94), pp. 128-129.

courses among the masses so as to make them socially effective.[104] 'Organic intellectuals' were 'created by new social classes' in the course of the latter's development. Thus, the industrial bourgeoisie 'created' technicians and engineers. Similarly one could characterise the superior officers of the later Middle Ages as fundamentally linked to the prince and to the dominant classes, classes to which they themselves belonged because of their place in the process of social redistribution. The organic intellectuals 'served' the dominant classes by exercising the hegemonic ideology and by populating the coercive apparatus.

Opposite these organic intellectuals we can find – still following Gramsci – the 'traditional intellectuals'. Historically, the former replaced the latter until the time when they themselves were replaced by yet a new group of intellectuals. For a long time, the clerics, in their profound social (and often also familial) solidarity with the feudal nobility, were the type of traditional intellectuals of classic feudalism *par excellence*. In the imaginary universe of this type of society, this first estate was functionally and organically linked to the two other estates and to society as a whole. In the context of their intellectual task, the meaning of the word *clericus* was even extended to the sense of 'man of letters' (*clerc*). Gramsci described how the growing power of the princes gave birth to an 'aristocracy of the gown' that was not part of the clergy: they were intellectuals with a 'corporate spirit' who considered themselves to be independent of the ruling group. In their turn, the intellectuals of the lower level (notaries, lawyers etc.) established contact between the mass of the peasants and the state administration.[105] The 'organic function' of the older layers of traditional intellectuals, such as the strictly clerical thinkers of the high Middle Ages, became superfluous as society developed. The theologians, as traditional intellectuals, regarded their own form of knowledge as more important than that of the legists. They sometimes gave a very negative image of the secular officers – still using the metaphor of the body politic – by comparing them to the crooked claws of a harpy.[106] Those social groups, whose power was on the rise, and the intellectuals, who were affiliated with them, incorporated part of the traditional intellectuals in order to suggest a certain historical continuity.[107] In this respect, the superior officers of the dukes of Burgundy were effectively an important group of organic intellectuals of the new 'modern state'. It is clear that the activity of the legists in the construction of the state did have 'modern' features. They possessed a certain autonomy vis-à-vis

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[104] *Ibidem*, pp. 165-166; see also P. Ransome, *Antonio Gramsci. A New Introduction* (New York, 1992), pp. 190-198.

[105] *Ibidem*.

[106] Ph. Buc, *L'ambiguïté du livre. Prince, pouvoir et peuple dans les commentaires de la bible au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1994), p. 183.

[107] Ransome, *Antonio Gramsci* (see n. 104), pp. 189, 198.

dynastic institutions such as the court, thanks to their associations with the 'scholarly' mode of reproduction of the universities and because of their technical skills.[108] Intellectuals always have the tendency to present themselves as autonomous to the dominant groups in society, just as their defence of the public interest (*bien public* or *commun prouffit*) is supposed to be independent.[109] According to Bourdieu, the officers of the modern state became the quasi-hereditary possessors of 'scholarly capital'.[110] University degrees not only represented a certain possession of this specific form of cultural capital, they also functioned symbolically. The *magistri*, the *licentiati* and most of all the *doctores* enjoyed a great prestige and they were the first to accentuate it.

In certain respects, we can, for that matter, also consider the non-qualified superior officers, who belonged to the elites of their time, as 'intellectuals', just like the most important members of the nobility. They were manifestly present in the corridors of power, where the important political problems of the time were discussed. In the context of the Burgundian court, Arjo Vanderjagt has defined the term 'intellectual' as "those courtiers of whom it is known that they reflected discursively on the special functions and duties of politicians within the 'bien publicque'".[111] With this definition he certainly shows us the direction into which the concept of intellectual evolved. Elsewhere, he included among the 'intellectuels franco-bourguignons' as well those who had a scientific training and produced and managed culture in the broadest sense of the word, the political and social order included.[112] The thought that was both abstract and concrete, and that was used in the central courts of law, in itself assured an intellectual education. Therefore, the example of De Lannoy, the nobleman in the service of the Burgundian court who pretended that he dare not speak in the Council of Holland after the words of the learned *clers legistes et ystoryens*, according to his biographer Mario Damen, is a case of literary exaggeration. Damen neatly points out[113] that De Lannoy must have attended meetings of

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[108] P. Bourdieu, 'De la maison du roi à la raison d'État. Un modèle de la genèse du champ bureaucratique', in: *Actes de la Recherche en Siences Sociales* 118 (1997), p. 56.

[109] Ransome, *Antonio Gramsci* (see n. 104), pp. 193-194.

[110] P. Bourdieu, *La noblesse d'État: grandes écoles et esprit de corps* (Paris, 1989), p. 68.

[111] A. J. Vanderjagt, 'Classical Learning and the Building of Power at the Fifteenth-Century Burgundian Court', in: J. W. Drijvers and A. A. McDonald, eds., *Centers of Learning and Location in Pre-Modern Europe and the Near East* (Leiden/New York, 1995), p. 269.

[112] Vanderjagt, 'Frans-Bourgondische geleerde politici' (see n. 97), p. 404.

[113] B. De Lannoy and G. Dansaert, *Jean de Lannoy, le bâtisseur (1421-1493)* (Bruxelles, 1921), p. 120; Damen, *De staat van dienst* (see n. 5), p. 146; see also Van Leeuwen, *Denkbeelden* (see n. 47), *passim*.

this council silently for sixteen years. The officers of his level were there-
fore 'intellectuals' in a fundamental sense. Although their level of knowl-
edge and their specialisations clearly must have differed, they fulfilled the
functions of organisers and producers of ideology in the service of the
prince and his state construction.

*Conclusion*

Vanderjagt has shown how the dukes of Burgundy and their entourage ap-
propriated classical texts to serve the needs of the state.[114] Armed with old
theories, the officers constructed a new kind of state and a new sort of
society. In the typical discourse of the officers of the later Middle Ages
some 'central signifiers' recurred frequently. These concepts constituted
'knots of signification' that dominated and determined the other concepts
and directed political action. We are concerned with notions like *res public-
ca, bonum commune, aequitas, ratio, lex, reformatio* and *justitia*. These
terms, directly originating from the classical and Christian intellectual
heritage and Roman Law, made up the essential elements of what can be
considered as the state ideology of the late-medieval officers. However, a
new element was brought forward by the reformist and legislative action
practised by the officers in the name of this discourse, which in an earlier
phase was characterised rather by conservatism. Concepts of classical and
Christian origin which we encounter in the typical works in their libraries or
in their university studies became functional in other circumstances and
constituted a precocious basis of the state ideology. Moreover, through their
daily practice, the officers appropriated some mental operations and logical
techniques to analyse the complex reality: dialectics, topics and a general
instrumentalist rationality that had hardly been present earlier on. In this
sense, the officers of the later Middle Ages made up a new group of
intellectuals in the service of the centralising state and were organically
linked to it. In this manner, they did not only contribute to the independence
of their own position but also to that of the state itself. Decisive steps
forward were made in the realisation of the 'modern state' and of politics
taken as a separate social space.

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[114]  Vanderjagt, 'Expropriating the Past' (see n. 24), pp. 177-201.

# THE ORDER OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE AND THE CREATION OF BURGUNDIAN NATIONAL IDENTITY

## D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton

The modern notion of a nation is that of a body of people whose élite members, at least – and ideally the great majority of members – share a common and distinctive ancestry, language, and both a cultural and a political heritage, and ideally live under a common and independent government. In practice, however, most entities now called 'nations' in Latin Europe did not begin as natural ethnic communities of this sort, but were rather the creations of rulers and dynasties and were organized into dominions whose boundaries bore little or no relationship to those between linguistic and cultural communities. Before about 1800 it was not uncommon for the dominions under the control of a particular Latin prince or dynasty to be loosely connected to one another by personal union in what I have called a 'domain',[1] but even when they were formally united in a single dominion with the rank of kingdom, their rulers and dynasties were commonly confronted with numerous internal distinctions that tended to undermine the unity of their state and the loyalty of some substantial part of their élite subjects, and in consequence their own effective power.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw the creation in the central lands of Latin Christendom, including the domain of the Valois dukes of Burgundy, of a whole series of new institutions, signs, and myths that could be used to promote both loyalty to a crown or dynasty, and attachment to the polity and people over which they were set. The nature of the unifying instruments of these sorts effectively available to the ruler varied to some extent on the basis of such factors as the ethnic and political unity of the polity, the strength of the crown or monarchy, and the longevity of the dynasty and the extent to which it was identified with both polity and

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[1] The traditional terminology of historiography has no distinctive words for many of the phenomena associated with nobility and lordship, and some years ago I decided to adopt a set of hierarchically-defined taxonomic terms to represent all of the concepts I felt needed recognition. Among these are the terms 'dominion', with the sense 'a discrete jurisdictional territory of a territorial lord of any sort, marked with a distinctive name and title (e.g. 'kingdom of France', 'duchy of Burgundy', 'county of Flanders')', and 'domain', with the sense 'a set of mutually independent dominions, not formally united in a larger dominion, but ruled simultaneously by the same lord'. The Burgundian 'state' was such an entity throughout its history.

people. The kingdom of England, for example, was more unified politically and ethnically than the kingdom of France, had a monarchy whose legal authority reached more deeply into the society and more widely within its boundaries, and had come to be endowed with a whole series of pan-regnal institutions that made the notion of the 'Community of the Realm' a reality on the level of the upper nobility and clergy. From 1328 to 1461 successive kings of England were also able to maintain at least a plausible claim to the throne of France, and to cast doubt on the legitimacy of the de facto succession of the kings of France (though after the coup of 1399 their own legitimacy was open to similar challenges). Nevertheless, even in the fifteenth century the English monarchy lacked the 'most Christian' character that had been successfully claimed and maintained by the successive dynasties of France on the basis of the myths of its foundation by Clovis, and its current dynasty lacked the longevity and mythical associations with the kingdom of the Capetians.

Despite these differences (emphasized by the polemicists of the later stages of the Hundred Years War[2]), throughout that long war the kings of both England and France either maintained or adopted essentially similar and often parallel strategies for promoting loyalty to their crown, dynasty, and state. In the first place, they continued to make use of a national foundation-myth involving descent from Trojan heroes: a myth that was

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[2] On the propaganda wars between French and English polemicists, see esp. P. S. Lewis, 'War Propaganda and Historiography in Fifteenth-Century France and England', in: *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, 15 (1965); N. Grévy-Pons, 'Propagande et sentiment national pendant le règne de Charles VI: L'example de Jean de Montreuil', in: *Francia* 8 (1980), pp. 127-145; N. Pons, 'La propagande de guerre française avant l'apparition de Jeanne d'Arc', in: *Journal des Savants* (1982); K. Daly, *The "Miroir Historial Abrégé de France" and "C'est chose profitable": A Study of Two Fifteenth-Century Texts and their Context* (unpublished thesis, Oxford University, 1983); N. Pons, 'Latin et français au XVe siècle: le témoignage des traités de propagande', in: *Le Moyen Français: Actes du Ve Colloque international sur le moyen français (Milan, 6-8 mai 1985)*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1986), vol. 2, pp. 67-81; K. Daly, 'Histoire et politique à la fin de la guerre de Cent ans: L'"Abrégé des Chroniques" de Noël de Fribois', in: *La "France Anglaise" au Moyen Âge: Actes du IIIe Congrès national des sociétés savantes, Poitiers, 1986* (Paris, 1988), pp. 91-101; N. Pons, *"L'honneur de la couronne de France": Quatre libelles contre les Anglais (vers 1418-vers 1429)* (Paris, 1990), esp. pp. 9-13; eadem, 'La Guerre de Cent Ans Vue par Quelques Polémistes Français du XVe Siècle', in: *Guerre et Société en France, en Angleterre et en Bourgogne, XIVe-XVe Siècles*, eds. P. Contamine, C. Giry-Deloison and M. Keen (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1991), pp. 143-169; eadem, 'De la renommée du royaume à l'honneur de France', in: *Médiévales: langue, textes, histoire* 24 (1993), pp. 101-116; C. Taylor, 'War, Propaganda and Diplomacy in Fifteenth-Century France and England', in: *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*, ed. C. Allmand (Liverpool, 2000), pp. 70-91.

even more appealing to the leading members of their respective nobilities and clergy thanks to the growing interest in Antiquity that characterized the period. Both also laid claim to a kingship specially favoured by God, and a dynasty (in the case of France) or line of succession (in the case of England) itself sanctified by a number of members recognized as saints (especially St Louis in France and SS Edmund the Martyr and Edward the Confessor in England, all of whom had been kings). More significantly in the present context, they both introduced devotion to a new national patron saint with strong military associations (St George in England[3] and St Michael in France[4]) and a new badge in the form of a cross associated with the saint,

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[3] On the cult of St George in England, see F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingston, eds., *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church* (London, [2]1974), p. 557, and the bibliography printed there; J. Bengtson, 'Saint George and the Formation of English Nationalism', in: *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 27 (1997), pp. 317-340; D. S. Fox, *Saint George: The Saint with Three Faces* (Windsor, 1983); and B. Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (London, 1998), p. 186; C. Allmand, 'Les Saints anglais et la Monarchie anglaise au bas Moyen Âge', in: *Saint-Denis et la Royauté: Études offertes à Bernard Guenée*, eds. F. Autrand, C. Gauvert, and J.-M. Moeglin (Paris, 1999); and J. Good, *St George for England: Sanctity and National Identity, 1272-1509* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Minnesota, 2004). St George was first invoked by English crusaders at Acre in 1191, and was informally associated with the older patron saints of England, King St Edmund the Martyr and King St Edward the Confessor, by Edward I. The cult was greatly advanced by the dedication of the Order of the Garter to St George in 1348/49, and since then the Order's Chapel of St George in Windsor Castle has been the centre of his cult in England. Edward III donated important relics of the saint to his chapel there (J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context 1270-1350* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1982), p. 53), and King Zsigmond of Hungary (the future Emperor Sigismund, founder of the Society of the Dragon) gave Henry V the heart of St George when he was inducted as a companion of the Order in 1416 (Fox, *Saint George*, p. 74). By the end of the fourteenth century the feast-day of St George, 23 April, was celebrated as a national holiday, and this was upgraded in 1415 to a feast of the same rank as Christmas. By the early fifteenth century the popularity of St George in England was such that pilgrims travelled to Windsor and collected pewter badges representing him in much the same fashion as he was eventually (from about 1491) represented in the jewel-pendent of the Order's new collar.

[4] See C. Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris, 1985), ch. 6, pp. 257-282; transl. and modified as *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France* (Berkeley, 1991). Beaune has shown that the cult of St Michael was developed under Charles VI and Charles VII both as a counterpart to the English cult of St George, and as a replacement for the cult of the traditional patron St Denis, whose authority was destroyed by the French losses in the first phases of the Hundred Years War. See also B. Bedos-Rezak, 'Idéologie royale, ambitions princières, et rivalités politiques d'après les témoignages des sceaux', in: *La "France Anglaise" au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1988), pp. 483-511; and C. de Mérin-

which was used both to mark the uniforms of soldiers and to serve as the sole or principal charge on the proto-national flag that emerged in the same period. In addition, they adopted various other relatively stable livery-badges to be worn by members of the royal household and affinity as a mark of their service and loyalty,[5] and founded at least one lay order of knighthood of a new monarchical type.[6] The latter was dedicated to the new national saint, and designed both to associate the king with the legends of the oldest Christian Worthy, Arthur of Britain (and through him to the other Worthies and heroes of pagan, Jewish, and Christian history), and also to bind the leading members of the nobility of the realm more closely to the king and crown through membership in this order. In France these and related strategies designed to promote national unity and solidarity behind the king and dynasty have been ably studied by Colette Beaune for the whole period before about 1500.[7] No comparable survey has yet been

dol, 'St Michel et la monarchie française à la fin du Moyen Âge dans le conflit franco-anglais', in: *ibidem*, pp. 513-542 (which argues that the cult of St Michael was initiated by Philippe VI, lost ground under his successors, and was finally revived in a major way by Charles VII).

[5] On the origin and nature of these paraheraldic emblems, see below, § 5.

[6] On the monarchical and other princely orders of knighthood in the period in question here, see my book, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325-1520* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, [2]2000). Therein I defined the term 'order of knighthood' as 'a body of noble persons constituting a corporation under common statutes (most commonly of a confraternal nature), intended to be perpetual, and dedicated to high political, military, and spiritual ends'; I defined 'princely order' as 'an order of knighthood founded and largely dominated by one or more princes; 'curial order' as 'a princely order effectively if not formally attached to the court of a particular prince'; and 'monarchical order' as 'a curial order whose presidency is formally attached to the throne or (in one case only) dynasty of its founder'. I have so far identified thirty-two orders that were *certainly* curial and either *certainly* or *probably* monarchical, founded between 1325 and 1469; these are listed, along with the dates of their existence and other pertinent information, in Appendix VI, pp. 644-645, of my book. On the Order of the Garter, which was the principal model of that of the Golden Fleece, and by far the most important of the existing orders in 1430, see in addition to ch. 4 of *The Knights of the Crown* (pp. 96-166), the following recent works: D. Schneider, *Der englische Hosenbandorden (1348 to 1702) mit einem Ausblick bis 1983* (unpublished thesis, University of Bonn, completed in 1983, made public in 1988); P. Bergent and H. Chesshyre, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1999); and H. E. L. Collins, *The Order of the Garter, 1348-1461: Chivalry and Politics in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2000).

[7] Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology* (see n. 4). For England the only really comparable set of studies are those in D. Gordon, L. Monnas, and C. Elam, eds., *The Regal Image of Richard II and the Wilton Diptych* (London, 1997), and they are concerned only with the state of what I have called emblematics – the construction and use of figures representative of the identity of particular individuals and col-

published for England, but a number of studies have dealt with the use of propaganda to promote the claims of English kings – especially Henry V – to the throne of France,[8] and my student Tiffany Grade has just completed a doctoral dissertation that deals among other things with the ways in which Henry attempted to portray England as a nation peculiarly favoured by God and the Blessed Virgin, protected by other powerful saints, and led by a king who was a model of both Christian and chivalric virtue.[9]

## 1. The Creation of a Burgundian 'Nation-State': Problems and Strategies

In the case of the Burgundian 'state' slowly constructed in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries by the dukes of the second Capetian dynasty, the 'state', monarchy, dynasty, and people all initially lacked the advantages enjoyed either by the kings of England or by the kings of France, and the dukes had in effect to construct them out of whole cloth. The Burgundian domain was legally nothing more than a collection of principalities and baronies in three adjacent kingdoms (France, Germany, and Burgundy or Arles), the last two of which were, with the kingdom of

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lectivities – c. 1390-1410. A comparative study of iconic, largely heraldic propaganda in the headings of royal charters both France and England should also be mentioned: E. Danbury, 'English and French Artistic Propaganda during the period of the Hundred Years War: Some Evidence from Royal Charters', in: C. Allmand, ed., *Power, Culture, and Religion in France c. 1350 – c. 1550* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 75-97.

[8] Discussions of various forms of English royal propaganda related to the legitimacy of the king's claims both to the French and to the English thrones are found in W. R. Jones, 'The English church and royal propaganda during the Hundred Years War', in: *Journal of British Studies* 19 (1979), pp. 18-30; A. K. McHardy, 'Liturgy and Propaganda in the Diocese of Lincoln During the Hundred Years War', in: *Religion and National Identity: Studies in Church History* 18, ed. S. Mews (Oxford, 1982), pp. 215-227; *idem*, 'The English Clergy and the Hundred Years War', in: *The Church and War: Studies in Church History* 20, ed. W. J. Shiels (Oxford, 1983), pp. 171-178; *idem*, 'Religious Ritual and Political Persuasion: The Case of England in the Hundred Years War', in: *International Journal of Moral and Social Studies* 3 (1988), pp. 41-57; G. L. Harris, 'Introduction', in: *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship*, ed. G. L. Harris (Oxford, 1985); C. T. Allmand, 'Henry V the Soldier, and the War in France', in: *ibidem*; C. T. Allmand, *Henry V* (Berkeley, 1992); J. A. Doig, 'Propaganda and Truth: Henry V's Royal Progress in 1421', in: *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 40 (1996), pp. 167-179; P. Strohm, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399-1422* (New Haven, 1998); A. K. McHardy, 'Some Reflections on Edward III's Use of Propaganda', in: *The Age of Edward III*, ed. J. S. Bothwell (York, 2001), pp. 171-192.

[9] T. Grade, *Warfare, The Royal Image, and National Identity: Succession and Propaganda during the Hundred Years War, 1337-1422* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Notre Dame, 2005).

Germany, under the direct lordship of successive 'Kings' and 'Emperors of the Romans'. Furthermore, these principalities included peoples speaking various dialects of both Romance and Germanic languages, few of which were sharply distinguished from those of the same linguistic infra-family spoken just beyond their borders, and only one set of which – the Germanic dialects of the 'Low Countries' – were destined to give rise to a 'national' language. Finally, the lands in question had no history of unity since the partition of the old Frankish empire by the Treaty of Verdun in 843: for while most of the imperial lands included in the Burgundian domain in the fifteenth century had been included in the central kingdom of Lothar informally called 'Lotharingia', the lands of the duchy of Burgundy itself and of the adjacent principalities in France had not. The most that could be said is that the domain of the Valois dukes eventually included virtually all of the territory of the former kingdom of Lotharingia not later annexed to the kingdoms of Italy and Burgundy and the duchy of Swabia, and corresponded fairly closely to the *duchy* of Lotharingia (in French called either 'Lothier' or 'Lorraine') formed from the northern rump of the former kingdom in 900, and maintained until its partition into upper and lower duchies in 959. As dukes of Brabant from 1430, the Valois and Habsburg dukes of Burgundy also employed the title 'Duke of Lotharingia (or Lothier)', which at least implied a claim to the old duchy.

From 1428, the Burgundian dukes also held part of the old 'Kingdom' of Frisia, immediately to the north of Lower Lotharingia: the counties of Holland and Zeeland, and (in theory) the county of Friesland. In practice the last of these dominions fiercely resisted the attempts of successive dukes to impose their effective lordship, but the annexation of the duchy of Guelders from 1473-1477 and 1481-1492 made the Burgundians lords of all the remaining land of Frisia not included in the episcopal principality of Utrecht. To the south of Lotharingia, the ducal domain included part of the ancient kingdom of the Burgundians, which had been largely reunified in 937 and annexed to the new *Imperium Romanum* in 1032 as the kingdom of Burgundy or Arles. Both the duchy and the county palatine of Burgundy had formed part of the old Burgundian kingdom, but together they only occupied about a fifth of its former territory, and the latter occupied an even smaller part of the existing kingdom of Arles, to which it alone belonged.

To create something resembling a unified and self-conscious nation-state comparable to England or France, the later dukes naturally sought a royal crown from the emperor – either of Arles or of Frisia.[10] While they waited in vain for such a crown to materialise, however, they adopted and

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[10] On the attempts of the Valois dukes to obtain a royal crown, see the essays in this volume by Graeme Small and Jan Veenstra. These two essays also discuss the efforts by the dukes to create a 'national' mythology that would justify the 'restoration' of the crown they sought.

adapted to their needs all of the instruments of national unity employed by
the kings of those lands. These included a 'national' mythology including
royal predecessors, a national patron saint (St Andrew, the traditional patron
of the duchy of Burgundy proper); a new badge in the form of the cross of
that saint that came to mark the uniforms of soldiers and the field of the
proto-national flag; a secondary badge or device (the flint-and-firesteel[11]
spewing sparks) that could be worn, often in conjuncttion with the cross, by
the members of the ducal household and affinity and the officers of the
ducal forces; and finally a monarchical order of knighthood for the whole
domain that was dedicated to the dynastic-national saint, and associated his
cross and the secular badge of the dukes with another emblem (the golden
fleece) symbolic at once of a company of Classical Greek heroes (Jason and
the Argonauts) and an Old Testament judge (Gideon).

*2. The Order of the Golden Fleece as an Instrument of Unification*

It is my object in this paper to review the principal ways in which the last
two Valois dukes and the first three Habsburg dukes used this last in-
strument, the Order of the Golden Fleece,[12] in the period before about 1525.
The Order was founded by Duke Philippe 'the Good' in 1429/30 – and was
maintained by all of his heirs to 1519, at least – to promote the image of the
Burgundian domain as a state and of its people as a nation essentially
equivalent in nature (if still inferior in formal rank) to England and France.

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[11] In traditional English there seems to be no distinctive word corresponding to the
Middle French *fusil* in the sense of 'small steel object used for striking a flint to
produce a spark that will set a fire in tinder'; it has usually been designated by the
simple word 'steel', especially in the expression 'flint and steel'. For the sake of
clarity I have decided to call this object a 'firesteel', omitting a hyphen because I
shall have to use it frequently in the expression 'flint-and-firesteel'.

[12] The Order of the Golden Fleece has been exceptionally well studied in recent
decades. In addition to the chapter in my own book just cited, the following works
are especially worthy of note: M. Pastoureau and M. Popoff, *Chevaliers de la
Toison d'or: Portraits équestres du XVe siècle (d'après le manuscrit no. 4790 de la
Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal)* (Paris, 1986); *Trésors de la Toison d'or. Catalogue*
(Brussels, 1987); R. de Smedt, ed., *De Orde van het Gulden Vlies te Mechelen in
1491: Internationaal Symposium, Mechelen 7 September 1991* (Malines/Mechelen,
1992); A. de Ceballos-Escalera y Gila, ed., *La Insigne Orden de la Toisón de oro*
(Madrid, 1996); C. van den Bergen-Pantens, ed., *L'Ordre de la Toison d'or, de
Philippe le Bon à Philippe le Beau (1430-1505): idéal ou reflet d'une société?*
(Turnhout, 1996); F. de Gruben, *Les chapitres de la Toison d'or à l'époque bour-
guignonne (1430-1477)*, préface P. Contamine (Leuven, 1997); A. de Ceballos-
Escalera y Gila, ed., *Status du Thoison* (Valencia, 1998); R. de Smedt, ed., *Les
chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'or au XVe siècle* (Frankfurt am Main, ²2000,
¹1994); and M. Pastoureau and M. Popoff, eds., *Grand armorial équestre de la
Toison d'or*, 2 vols. (Saint-Jaurioz, Haute Savoie, 2001).

Some of the ways in which it was used to these ends I have already discussed adequately elsewhere,[13] and can therefore deal with very briefly here, while others will require a somewhat longer treatment.

To begin with, at the time Philippe founded the Order of the Golden Fleece, the mere possession of a neo-Arthurian monarchical order of knighthood had always been a mark of effective political independence, and only kings and princes of ducal rank governing a quasi-national state (the counts and from 1408 dukes of Savoy,[14] and the dukes of Brittany[15]) had certainly founded one.[16] Unlike most of its predecessors, the Burgundian order was immediately endowed with statutes and properties that made it second only to the English Garter in splendour, thus conveying prestige and status to its founder and his successors as Chief and Sovereign of the Order, raising them above all ordinary dukes, and giving them some of the aura of kingship.[17] In fact, only kings had hitherto proclaimed fully-realized orders of

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[13] See my discussion of the functions of the Order in *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), pp. 394-396.

[14] Amé VI de Savoie, count of Savoy and duke of Chablais and Aosta, had been the first prince of subregal rank to found a monarchical order: that of the Collar (*Collier*), probably proclaimed in 1364. It was the second oldest order surviving in 1430, and was certainly one of the direct models for the Order of the Golden Fleece. This order was remodelled after the Golden Fleece in 1518 and renamed the Order of the Most Holy Annunziata; it is still maintained by the Chief of the Royal House of Italy as his principal order. For a history and analysis of the order, see Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), pp. 249-270.

[15] Jehan IV Capet de Dreux-Bretagne, duke of Brittany, founded the 11th curial order, that of the Ermine, in 1381. It seems to have dissolved, however, in 1399, and is therefore unlikely to have served as a model for the Golden Fleece. For a history of the order, see Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), pp. 274-278.

[16] Orders of some sort were also founded before 1430 by the dukes of Bourbon (the Golden Shield, 1367), Anjou (the True Cross, 1365/75), and Austria (the Tress and the Salamander, *c.* 1380), and by a pretender to the throne of Austria (the Crown, 1379), but it is not certain that any of these orders was monarchical. The ten other orders founded before 1430 (beginning with the Hungarian Society of St George in 1325) were all founded by kings. On all of these orders, see Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6).

[17] The statutes of the Golden Fleece were based largely on those of the Garter and the Collar, but were more elaborate even than the former. Like those of the former, they called for the establishment of four corporate offices, a corporate seal, a corporate chapel for the Order in the ducal palace with stalls for the companions marked with their armorial bearings, a college of canons equal in number to the knights, and a college of poor knights to be supported by the charity of the companions. Of the earlier orders, only a few of those of royal foundation were to have been provided with most of these amenities, and only the kings of England had actually succeeded in establishing all of them, even if in some cases in a limited fashion.

this type, and only the kings of England – in 1430 the leading power in Latin Europe – had been able to establish and maintain the order they had proclaimed in anything like its original or intended form. The successful foundation and maintenance of an order comparable to the Garter therefore marked the Burgundian dukes as princes of the first order in the eyes of their noble contemporaries.

A number of the particular characteristics of the new Burgundian Order also contributed in important ways to the prestige of its founder and his successors both within and beyond the borders of their domain. Philippe outdid the founders of the two existing orders in a number of ways presumably intended to achieve that end: (1) he restricted membership in his Order to men who were not only knights of noble birth but unstained either by illegitimacy or moral 'reproach';[18] (2) he imposed an obligation on the companions to follow their Sovereign in any campaign he undertook in the defense of the Church (and by implication in a crusade);[19] (3) he introduced into the order's chapter meeting a session in which the companions of the order were to criticize their fellows for any lapses from the norms of chivalric behaviour, and to try them for more serious breaches;[20] and (4) he imposed on the companions an obligation to accept the criticisms and punishments imposed at these sessions.[21] Together, these and related provisions of the order's statutes enhanced the claims frequently made by and for the Burgundian dukes in their official propaganda that they were at once ideal princes, perfect knights, supreme patrons of chivalry, and leading defenders of the Faith and the Church.[22] They must therefore have contributed something to the willingness not only of the dukes' noble subjects (for whom chivalry was a kind of secular religion), but of their subjects of bourgeois and artisan rank (who admired chivalry even if they could not practise it), to identify with their dukes and the new domanial state they had created.

The regular activities of the order also contributed to the goal of unifying the domain. The public ceremonies of the Order held at first annually and later at irregular intervals in honour of the patron of the order, the

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[18] This requirement is specified in chapter 1[b] of the statutes; see Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), pp. 373-374.

[19] This obligation is specified in chapter 5 of the statutes. See *ibidem*, p. 380.

[20] The session of the chapter-meetings dedicated to corrections was established by chapter 31-35 of the statutes. See *ibidem*, pp. 384-385. For an analysis of particular cases of the condemnation of companions during the order's chapters, see the essay in this volume by Bernhard Sterchi.

[21] This obligation was established by chapters 54 and 55 of the statutes. See Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), p. 382.

[22] On the place of these claims in the propaganda of the Burgundian court, see the essay in this volume by Malte Prietzel.

duchy, and the dynasty (and to begin with in association with his traditional feast-day at the end of November) not only emphasized the universality of the patronal role of St Andrew within the Burgundian domain, but provided an opportunity for the duke to display his wealth, largesse, and taste in each of the major cities of his state in a sort of irregular rotation.[23] On each of these occasions the companions took part in several public processions and attended religious services, a chapter, and a banquet, in all of which the duke appeared in his role of Chief and Sovereign of the Order. He was thus presented to his various peoples in the greatest pomp at once as their quasi-regal common ruler, and as the head of all of their nobilities newly united through the membership of their greatest members in the single Order common to all of the Burgundian lands.

Nor was the value of the order as an instrument for uniting the nobilities limited to this essentially symbolic role. From the moment of its foundation membership in the Order was open to noble knights from all parts of the ducal domain, and the dukes did their best to ensure that most of their different principalities were represented among its members. The order thus functioned as a sort of club in which the most important nobles of the different principalities and regions could come to know one another, and to see themselves as part of a common elite associated with the domain and incipient state as a whole rather than with their own principality or (alternatively) with the kingdom of France or the Holy Roman Empire. In this respect the Order performed the social role not only of its principal model, the English Order of the Garter, but of the English House of Lords, of which the Burgundian state never acquired an institutional equivalent.

At first, the Order of the Golden Fleece was effectively limited to Burgundian subjects, but once it was firmly established, the dukes increasingly sought to include among its members lesser princes whom they attracted into alliance or clientship, and even greater princes and kings who were not expected to participate actively, but by consenting to be admitted lent it enormous prestige, and helped to attract others of high rank. The rank and number of the princely companions increased slowly between the foundation and 1445.[24] Friderich III, count of Mörs and Saarwerden, was elected to the Order at its first chapter, held in Lille in 1431; Ruprecht IV, count of Virneburg, at the third chapter, held at Dijon in 1433; Charles, duke of Orléans and Valois; Jehan, duke of Brittany; Jehan II, duke of Alençon and count of Perche; and Matthieu, count of Comminges, at the sixth chapter, held in Saint-Omer in 1440; and not only Henri II, count of Grandpré, but Alfons V, king of Aragon, Majorca, Sardinia, and the two Sicilies, at the seventh chapter, held at Ghent in 1445. Thereafter there were always a

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[23] On the chapters of the order, see De Gruben, *Les chapitres* (see n. 12).

[24] For a list of the members admitted before 1501, see De Smedt, *Les chevaliers* (see n. 12).

number of kings and sovereign dukes among the companions, and they constituted an ever-growing proportion of the membership.

This development tended to reduce the value of the order as a unifier of the domanial nobilities, but had the compensating effect of raising the ducal court socially to virtual equality with the royal courts of Latin Europe, making the dukes look more like kings in the eyes of their own subjects of all ranks as well as in those of the peoples beyond their borders. This must have augmented their moral authority, and presumably made their leading subjects somewhat more acquiescent to their centralizing policies.

Finally, a number of princes and kings paid the dukes of Burgundy the ultimate compliment by emulating their order to varying degrees. As was recently made clear through the collaborative work of Holger Kruse, Werner Paravicini, and Andreas Ranft,[25] all of the electoral princes and most of the dukes of Germany founded nobiliary societies of some sort within a short time of the foundation of the Golden Fleece, and as I have argued in the second edition of my own book on monarchical and curial orders, there is some reason to think that all of these were inspired by it.[26] Nevertheless, the purely German founders all established relatively modest societies, suitable to their wealth and power if not their rank[27] (for one of them was a king).[28] Only the orders founded in the same period by non-German princes

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[25] H. Kruse, W. Paravicini, and A. Ranft, *Ritterorden und Adelsgesellschaften im spätmittelalterlichen Deutschland* (Frankfurt am Main, 1991).

[26] See Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), Appendix V, pp. 575-643.

[27] The orders in question were the following: The Fraternity of St Anthony (*Bruederschap Sent Anthony*), founded between 1420 and 1435 by Adolf I, duke of Cleves and count of La Mark; the Society of St George and St William (*Gesellschaft St. Georgen und St Wilhelm*), founded in 1436 by Friderich IV von Habsburg, duke of Austria and Landgrave of Upper Alsace; the Society of Our Lady of the Swan (*Selschapp unnser liven frawen*), founded in 1440 by Friderich VII von Zollern, elector-marquis of Brandenburg; the Society of St George with the Pelican (*Gesellschaft St. Jörgens mit dem Pelikan*), founded in 1444 by Ludwig IV von Wittelsbach, elector-count palatine of the Rhine; the Order of St Hubert (*Sent Hubertz Orden*), founded in 1444 by Gerhard V von Hengenbach, duke of Jülich and Berg; the Society of St Jerome (*Gesellschaft Sente Jeromnimi*), founded in 1450 by Friderich II von Wettin, elector-duke of Saxony, marquis of Meissen and Landgrave of Thuringia; the Fraternity and Society of St Christopher (*Bruderschaft und Gesellschaft St. Christopher*), founded in 1465 by Wilhelm IV von Henneberg, count of Henneberg; and the Knightly Fraternity of the Convent of Our Lady by the Sands (*Ritterbruderschaft des Conventes unsere lieben Frau Ingensande*), founded in 1468 by Adolf von Egmont, duke of Guelders. All of these are treated in Appendix V of *The Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6).

[28] The Society of the Eagle (*Adlergesellschaft*), founded in 1433, and the Society of the Towel (*Tusingesellschaft*), founded in 1438, were both established by Albrecht V 'the Magnanimous' von Habsburg, duke of Austria and king of the Romans, Hungary, and Bohemia in succession to his father-in-law the Emperor Sigismund

of regal rank – specifically René, duke of Anjou, sometime and still titular king of peninsular Sicily, in 1448,[29] Ferrante king of peninsular Sicily in 1465,[30] and Louis XI king of France in 1469[31] – were modelled closely on the Burgundian order. Eventually, in 1518 and 1519 – when the current duke of Burgundy had become king of all of the lands of Spain and the two Sicilies and was about to be elected emperor – even the two older orders of the Garter of England and the Collar of Savoy were restructured on the model of the Golden Fleece, and for some time after that year the only surviving monarchical orders were the extremely similar Orders of the Garter, the former Collar (renamed the Annunciate), the Golden Fleece, and St Michael of France.

The one remaining way in which the Order of the Golden Fleece contributed to the image of the Burgundian domain as a unified state and proto-nation was through the use of the insignia associated with it in various public contexts, especially those not specifically associated with its own activities; or, to put it in a different way, through the integration of the insignia of the Order with the established emblems of the state and the 'national' myths that some of these represented. In this area Duke Philippe 'the Good' both imitated and in several matters either anticipated or surpassed the practices of the two régimes that since 1422 had held sway over his native kingdom of France. It is with the use of these emblems and insignia in such ways that the remainder of my essay will be concerned.[32]

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von Luxemburg, who had himself founded the Hungarian Society of the Dragon (*Societas Draconis*) in 1408. Albrecht was briefly chief of all three of these orders. See Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), pp. 343-355, 582-587.

[29] The Order of the Crescent (*Ordre du Croissant*), dedicated to St Maurice, patron saint of Anjou. On this order, see Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), Appendix V, pp. 611-622, and the works cited therein, and M. T. Reynolds, 'René of Anjou, king of Sicily, and the Order of the *Croissant*', in: *Journal of Medieval History* 19 (1993), pp. 125-161.

[30] The Order of the Ermine (*Ordine dell'Arminio*), dedicated to St Michael the Archangel, patron saint of peninsular Sicily. On this order, see Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), ch. 14, pp. 397-426, and the works cited therein.

[31] The Order of St Michael (*Ordre de Saint Michel*), the new patron saint of France. On this order, see Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), ch. 15, pp. 427-450, and the works cited therein.

[32] In preparing the following account of the complex relationships between the emblems of the Burgundian dukes and the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece, I have made use of the account in the form of a dictionary published by M. Pastou-reau, 'Emblèmes et symboles de la Toison d'or', in: Van den Bergen-Pantens, *L'Ordre de la Toison d'or* (see n. 12), pp. 99-106. After it had been both written and revised I was also able to compare it to the similar account by the same author in Pastoureau and Popoff, *Grand armorial* (see n. 12), vol. 1, pp. 51-67.

*3. The Insignia of the Order as Emblems of Burgundian Unity*

*3.1. The Collar of the Order*

The insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece – which is to say, the visual signs worn by its companions to signalize their status as members in the Order[33] – included the formal red mantle and chaperon that constituted the companions' habit, but this was worn only during the solemn rituals of the Order held during its chapters, and was therefore rarely seen. In the present context the most important element of the insignia of the Order was its collar (*collier*), which was in principle worn all the time, and was frequently displayed in an iconic form. The collar (clearly shown in Fig. 1) seems to have been adopted at the time of the proclamation of the Order in 1430, and has always consisted of a set of links in the form of gold firesteels (*fusils*) shaped like open Bs and reverse Bs[34] set in pairs in such a way that the open bows interlock and the flat backs abut an ovoid piece of black flint (*pierre-a-feu*) surrounded by formalized red flames, and sometimes in graphic representations, by sparks in the form of detached flames.[35] From this collar was suspended a jewel in the form of the skin and fleece of golden ram (*belier*), cinched at the waist by a simple ring. As we shall see, each of these elements had a distinct significance and a use independent of the collar, but

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[33] I have recently found it useful to sort the visual signs of heraldry into three functional classes: *emblems*, or signs of the particular identity of persons and entities of all kinds; *insignia*, or signs of the generic legal nature, status, or rank of persons or entities; and *symbols*, or signs of the extra-legal characteristics of persons or entities. All three terms have long been used in essentially the senses I have assigned to them in the technical language of 'emblematics', but not in that of heraldists, who have tended to use them interchangeably. See my book *Heraldic Emblems and their Rivals in North America*, forthcoming.

[34] The *fusil*, which in modern French is called the *briquet*, had first been introduced as an armorial motif or charge in the arms of the Flemish noble house of Stalins, on whose name it played in the Germanic dialect of the area (*staal* meaning 'steel'). More specifically, Louis 'of Male', count of Flanders, had in 1348 conferred on the newly-ennobled Arnaud Stalins a coat that could be blazoned: *Or, three firesteels Sable*. These firesteels were apparently represented in a stylized form that differed very little from that later used by the counts of Flanders themselves – the Valois dukes of Burgundy. See Baron Stalins, *Origine et Histoire de la Famille de Stalins de Flandre, depuis le XIIe siècle, et du Briquet héraldique dit de Bourgogne, ou Fusil de la Toison d'or* (Ghent/Paris, 1939), pp. 31-32.

[35] The form of the collar is specified in chapter 3 of the statutes in the following terms: ... *ung colier d'or de nostre devise: c'est assavoir, par pieces a façon de fusilz touchans a pierres dont partent estincelles ardantes, et au boult d'icellui colier pendant semblance d'une thoison d'or.* See Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), p. 367, n. 27.

I shall concentrate here on their combined significance and use in the collar as an insigne of the Order.

Collars of a broadly similar type had been adopted as the emblems and insignia of some nobiliary bodies since 1364, when Amé VI the 'Green Count' of Savoy had founded his 'Order of the Collar', but other forms of and methods of wearing insigne (including the simple brooch) had continued to be more common in such bodies before 1430.[36] Of the earlier true orders that were also certainly monarchical, only the Order of the Collar and the Aragonese Enterprise of the Stole and Jar founded in 1403 had made use of an insigne in this general form, and only the collar of the latter had been composed of a similar series of discrete figures and supported a jewel in the form of a beast. After the adoption of this collar by Duke Philippe 'the Good' in 1429, by contrast, almost every new knightly order or nobiliary society founded before 1693 would be assigned as its principal emblem and insigne of membership a collar of roughly comparable form, and even the Order of the Garter would be endowed with a comparable collar before the end of the century.[37]

The collar of the Burgundian Order became a familiar emblem of ducal authority partly because the dukes actually wore it at all times when they were in public (in keeping with a rule common to most monarchical and curial orders[38]), and furthermore had themselves represented wearing it in

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[36] On the forms taken by the insignia of princely orders and societies before and after 1430, see my 'Belts, Brooches, Collars, and Crosses: The Development of the Insignia of the Monarchical Orders of Knighthood, 1325-1693', in: *Heraldry in Canada* 21/5 (1987), pp. 9-39. On the more general use of collars in this period, see R. W. Lightbrown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery: With a Catalogue of the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London, 1992), pp. 245-292.

[37] The collar of the Garter was introduced by Henry VII, probably shortly after his election as a companion of the Golden Fleece, in 1491. See Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), pp. 160-161; and Bergent and Chesshyre, *The Most Noble Order of the Garter* (see n. 6), pp. 160-161.

[38] St George had been as popular in France as in England before 1348, and the future King Jehan II had as duke of Normandy dedicated the order of knights he projected in 1344 to the Blessed Virgin and St George. See Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), pp. 174-178. The foundation of the Order of the Garter put a sudden end to George's popularity in France, however, and opened the way for the adoption of St Michael as an alternative of comparable significance. The cult of St Michael in France had begun as early as 708, when he appeared in a dream to the bishop of Avranches in Normandy and asked that an oratory be built to him on the future Mont-Saint-Michel just off the Norman coast. The abbey church built there on the model of that of Monte Gargano in Italy became the object of a major pilgrimage, from which pewter souvenir-brooches as old as the twelfth century have been preserved. Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (see n. 3), pp. 230-231. The subsequent development of the cult of St Michael in France has been reconstructed by Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology* (see n. 4), pp. 156-171.

every form of personal portrait, civil and military, except those set on their seals. The companions themselves were also supposed to wear the collar whenever they appeared in public, and if (because of the weight of the collar) they did not always do so in practice,[39] they surely did so frequently.

Certainly they, like the dukes themselves, were frequently represented wearing it. The earliest portraits of the companions wearing their collar might have those included in the miniature of the Chapter set as a frontispiece in the copies of the statutes prepared for distribution to the first companions, but our earliest record of expenses for such books date from 1432,[40] and the oldest of them to survive[41] was prepared in or shortly after 1433.[42] Other group portraits, including some in which the companions were thoroughly individualized, appeared in the illuminations of such historical works as the *Chroniques de Hainault*.[43] It is therefore more likely

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[39] On the non-use of the collar, see F. A. F. T. baron de Reiffenberg, *Histoire de l'ordre de la Toison d'or depuis son institution jusqu'à la cessation des chapitres généraux* (Brussels, 1830), p. 26, 1440: Simon de Lalaing: *Le trésorier, au nom de Simon de Lalaing, représenta que ce chevalier étant à l'armée levée par ordre du duc souverain pour aller rompre certaines digues près de Calais, on lui avait enlevé un coffre contenant, entre autres effets, le collier de l'Ordre qu'il avait donné en garde à son secretaire, et qu'attendu ces circonstances, monsieur de Lalain prétendait n'être pas obligé à la restitution de son collier. L'assemblée déclara, par forme d'interprétation des statuts de l'Ordre, que le remontrant était tenu de rendre son collier, ordonnant, au surplus, qu'à l'article où il est fait mention de la perte des colliers on substituat, aux mots en guerre ou fait honourable, les suivants par guerre ou fait honorable... Ibidem*, pp. 98, 102 and 120: 1478 and later: The king of England has for quite some time not been wearing the collier. An embassy is sent to him, and he tries to postpone his reply. *Ibidem*, p. 110: 1481: Jean de Clèves has not worn it for some time, and has to pay an amend. *Ibidem*, pp. 227f., 237: 1496: General worries about people not wearing the collier. *Ibidem*, p. 243f.: 1501: Everybody has to pay an amend for not wearing the collier enough. *Ibidem*, p. 268: 1505: Embassy to Ferdinand of Aragon, inquiring why he is not wearing the collier. *Ibidem*, p. 302f.: New decision, to wear the collier only on festive occasions, otherwise on a light thread of silver or gold. Apparently it was too heavy, which was not the least of the reasons, why people did not wear it. Apart from that, every exclusion has a sequel about sending back the collier, the question, which collier is to be worn by Antoine of Burgundy in France, is very important, etc.

[40] See De Gruben, *Les chapitres* (see n. 12), p. 153, citing Archives départmentales du Nord, Lille, B 1948, fol. 203r, published as P.J. no. 64, pp. 447-448.

[41] The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. B. 76 E 10, fol. 5v. De Gruben, *Les chapitres* (see n. 12), p. 94, ill. 18.

[42] See De Gruben, *Les chapitres* (see n. 12), p. 94, ill. 18.

[43] The prefatory miniature in a copy of that chronicle preserved in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, depicts Duke Philippe standing under a baldachin with his son Charles aged about twelve to his left and at least four identifiable companions of the order behind him, all wearing the collar. In a miniature in a manuscript of the *Chronique des ducs de Bourgogne*, Duke Charles is depicted sitting on a throne

that the earliest surviving portrait of a companion wearing the collar is that of Baudouin de Lannoy, Governor of Lille, attributed to Jan van Eyck and probably prepared for the first Chapter of the Order in that city in 1431.[44] A neo-Classical bust of King Alfons 'the Magnanimous', wearing the collar of the Golden Fleece rather than that of his own humbler Enterprise of the Stole and Jar, has been preserved in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna; it was probably carved between his election to the Order in 1445 and his death in 1458.[45] Later portraits of companions wearing the collar include one by Rogier van der Weyden of Johann, duke of Cleves, elected to the Order in 1451;[46] one of Adolf, duke of Cleves,[47] and one by Rogier van der Weyden of Antoine, Great Bastard of Burgundy, both elected in 1456;[48] one of Louis de Bruges, earl of Winchester and lord of Gruuthuyse, elected in 1461 and painted at some time between 1470 and 1480;[49] and one Jehan de Luxembourg, count of Marle and Soissons, elected in 1473 and painted before his death in 1476;[50] one of Engelbert II, count of Nassau-Dillenburg and Vianden, elected in 1473 and painted before his death in 1504;[51] one of Henry VII, king of England, elected in 1491 and painted shortly thereafter;[52] and one of Guillaume de Croÿ, duke of Soria and Arce, marquis of Aarschot, count of Beaumont, and Lord of Chièvres, elected in 1491, which was painted before his death in 1521.[53] Christian II, king of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, always had himself portrayed wearing the collar of the Golden Fleece after his admission in 1520, in place of that of

wearing the collar, with at least three knights standing off to his right. Both are published in J.-P. Lecat, *Le siècle de la Toison d'or* (Paris, [1]1986, 1989), pp. 86, 87.

[44] Now in the Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museum Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem, published in Lecat, *Le siècle* (see n. 43), p. 141, and De Gruben, *Les chapitres* (see n. 12), p. 115, ill. 21.

[45] See M. Leithe-Jasper and R. Distelberger, *The Kunsthistorische Museum Vienna: The Treasury and the Collection of Sculpture and Decorative Arts* (London, 1982), p. 67, acq. no. 5441.

[46] Now in Chantilly, Musée Condé, published in Lecat, *Le siècle* (see n. 43), p. 143, and in De Gruben, *Les chapitres* (see n. 12), p. 264, ill. 43.

[47] Published in De Gruben, *Les chapitres* (see n. 12), p. 282, ill. 46.

[48] Now in Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts, published in Lecat, *Le siècle* (see n. 43), p. 142, and De Gruben, *Les chapitres* (see n. 12), p. 45, ill. 12.

[49] See De Gruben, *Les chapitres* (see n. 12), p. 306, ill. 49.

[50] Now in Brussels, Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts, published in Lecat, *Le siècle* (see n. 43), p. 140.

[51] Now in Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; see Lecat, *Le siècle* (see n. 43), p. 139.

[52] Now in the National Portrait Gallery, London; published in Baron H. Kervyn de Lettenhove, *La Toison d'or: Notes sur l'Institution et l'Histoire de l'Ordre (depuis l'année 1429 jusqu'à l'année 1559)* (Brussels, 1907), Pl. x, facing p. 52.

[53] Now in Brussels, Musée Royal de Bruxelles, published in Kervyn de Lettenhove, *La Toison d'or* (see n. 52), facing p. 56.

the order shared by his own three realms.[54] The collar usually worn in such portraits was the great collar, composed of flints and firesteels, but on occasion the lesser collar was represented. A second portrait of the Great Bastard survives in which he is portrayed wearing the lesser collar of the Order, theoretically reserved for military use, but in practice worn with increasing frequency in civil life due to the weight of the great collar.[55] There is also a portrait by Rogier van der Weyden of Duke Charles 'the Rash' wearing the lesser collar.[56]

After the foundation of the Order the dukes themselves almost invariably had themselves represented wearing the greater collar in civil portraits of all kinds, including tomb effigies.[57] Furthermore, they had their portraits represented far more frequently than the rulers any earlier or even contemporary Latin state, as numerous copies seem to have been made of certain original portraits, and these were sometime reproduced even in the statute-books of the Order.[58] The Habsburg Sovereigns of the Order continued the custom,[59] and were regularly thus depicted on their printed[60] and

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[54] The order in question was that of the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity, founded 1448/57, and commonly called after about 1500 the 'Order of the Elephant'; it seems to have been inspired directly by the Brandenburgish 'Order of the Swan'. See A. Fabritius, *De Kongelige Danske Ridderordener Og Medailler: Ordenernes Og Ordenkapitlets Historie* (Copenhagen, 1970), p. 16.

[55] Now in the Musée Condé in Chantilly; see Lecat, *Le siècle* (see n. 43), p. 35.

[56] Now in the Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museum Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin-Dahlem, published in Lecat, *Le siècle* (see n. 43), p. 77.

[57] Surviving panel-portraits of the founder, Philippe 'the Good', include a painting by Rogier van der Weyden now in the Museum of Antwerp (Kervyn de Lettenhove, *La Toison d'or* (see n. 52), Pl. IV, facing p. 5); another in the Musée des Beaux Arts, Dijon (Lecat, *Le siècle* (see n. 43), p. 76); and a bust in the collection of the king of Württemberg (Kervyn de Lettenhove, *La Toison d'or* (see n. 52), Pl. III, facing p. 2). Portraits of Charles 'the Rash' include the one by Van der Weyden cited above.

[58] A portrait of Charles 'the Rash' was set in the statute-book now preserved as Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Vind. 2606, fol. 70v, published in H. Matile *et al.*, eds., *Die Burgunderbeute und Werke burgundischer Hofkunst: Bernisches Historisches Museum, 18. Mai - 20. September 1969* (Bern, 1969), p. 16, Abb. 2.

[59] Philippe 'the Handsome' was represented wearing the collar as a mere child both *c.* 1488 (in a painting now in the Wilkinson Collection in Paris) and in 1492/94 (in a painting now in the Huis Berghe Castle Collection in 's-Heerenberg, Guelders). See J.-M. Cauchies, *Philippe le Beau: Le dernier duc de Bourgogne* (Turnhout, 2003), p. 5, Pl. 2, and p. 31, Pl. 4. There is also a group portrait by Bernard Strigel, of the family of Maximilian I, depicting both the Emperor and his eldest son wearing the collar of the Order, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, published in Lecat, *Le siècle* (see n. 43), p. 93. Another portrait of Philippe 'the Handsome', by Juan de Flandes, is now in the same museum, and was published in *ibidem*, p. 152.

[60] See, for example, the woodcut portrait of Maximilian by Dürer in W. Kurth, ed., *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer* (New York, 1963), Pl. 318.

medallic portraits.[61] From the time of the foundation of the Order the dukes of both dynasties were also represented wearing the collar in numerous contexts over which they had no control, indicating that they were quite widely known to do so, and that the collar could therefore serve as an identifying attribute of the dukes in the same manner as a crown served as one for kings.[62] (See Figures 2 to 5.)

As the only form of portrait in which the insignia of earlier orders had been displayed before 1430 was the tomb effigy, and the practice seems to have been exceptional even in that context,[63] the Burgundian custom with respect to portraits was a significant innovation, and would serve as a model for later practices elsewhere.[64] The only context in which it was slow to develop was that of the design of seals, but it would eventually prevail in that context as well. It is not entirely clear why no Burgundian duke had himself depicted wearing the collar on any of his seals before 1505 (when Philippe 'the Handsome' wore it on his great seal), or why no companion is known to have done so before 1516.[65] The absence of the collar from the great seals of Philippe 'the Good' and Charles 'the Rash', however, can be explained by the fact that those seals bore only an *equestrian* effigy in full armour, and both by statute and in practice the collar was worn only with civil dress. The former duke also continued to make use of the great seal of general purpose he had had cut in 1420,[66] from which the collar was naturally omitted. Philippe 'the Handsome' – who set the collar itself on most of his lesser seals from 1483, but in armorial rather than effigial contexts – could finally be depicted wearing it because his great seal of 1505 depicted him seated in majesty as king of Castile, and therefore wearing civil dress.[67] His son Charles followed his example in his sigillary portraits,[68] as did virtually all of his successors in both Spain and Austria. (See Figures 6 to 9.)

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[61]  See L. Smolderen, 'Médailles et jetons', in: Van den Bergen-Pantens, *L'Ordre de la Toison d'or* (see n. 12), pp. 165-183, esp. pp. 174-178, for medallic portraits of Philippe 'the Handsome' and Charles V.

[62]  See, for example, the representations of Duke Philippe 'the Good' in the *Charte de fondation de l'hôpital du Saint-Esprit* in Dijon, now preserved in the Hôpital général in Dijon, two pages of which appear in Lecat, *Le siècle* (see n. 43), p. 34.

[63]  See Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), pp. 482-489.

[64]  The practice spread to France in 1469 and to England and Savoy after 1520.

[65]  See R. Laurent, 'Les sceaux de l'ordre', in: Van den Bergen-Pantens, *L'Ordre de la Toison d'or* (see n. 12), pp. 24-30, esp. p. 30. He published there the seal of the Order (p. 24), Philippe 'the Good's' great seal for Brabant cut in 1433 (p. 25), the equestrian great seal (p. 26) and secret seal (p. 27) of Charles 'the Rash'.

[66]  See De Gruben, *Les chapitres* (see n. 12), p. 204, ill. 32, for the seal of 1420. It was reengraved with the badge of the flint-and-firesteel in 1430, however.

[67]  Stalins, *Briquet héraldique* (see n. 34), p. 154, Fig. 136.

[68]  *Ibidem*, p. 157, Fig. 141.

*3.2. The Iconic Display of the Collar, Especially in Armorial Achievements*

The actual wearing of the collar both in daily life and in portraits was an important form of propaganda, but the collar was even more firmly established as an emblem of the Burgundian state through the practice quickly adopted by the dukes and companions of setting an iconic version of it around their shield of arms[69] in virtually all iconic depictions.

This was an equally novel practice, for I have found no evidence that the insignia of any earlier order that took the form of a collar (in practice the insignia of the Collar of Savoy from 1364, of the Dove of Castile in 1390, and of the Stole and Jar of Peñafiel from 1403 and Aragon from 1412) had been used in this way.[70] Indeed, even the comparable insignia of other types associated with true curial orders[71] (in practice the English garter, the Austrian tress and salamander, and the Hungarian dragon[72]) had been displayed in this way only exceptionally before 1430. In England the display of the garter around a shield, though recorded from 1351, is not exemplified in any context before 1416, is exemplified only twice between that date and 1431,[73] and was unknown even on the stall-plates of the

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[69] For a discussion of the significance of arms and armorial emblems generally, and of the form taken by those of the dukes of our period, see below, § 4.1.

[70] On these orders, see Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), pp. 250-270, 326-338.

[71] A number of pseudo-orders had adopted collars as their insignia before 1430: that of the Belt of *Esperance* of Bourbon from 1379, that of the Broom-Pod of France from 1388, that of the Camail-and-Porcupine of Orléans from 1394, that of the Double Crown of Aragon from 1392-1410, and that of the Collar of the Scale of Castile from *c.* 1430. A few fraternal and confraternal societies in Germany also adopted this form of insigne, including the Society of the Buckle from 1392 and that of the Dog-Collar from 1413.

[72] Only one representation of the Austrian collar in the form of a tress shows it encircling a shield of arms, and it presumably antedated the dissolution of the order on the death of its founder Duke Albrecht 'With the Tress' in 1386. The salamander badge of the order maintained by the other branch of Austrian dukes was represented surrounding the ducal arms on the seals of two dukes attached to documents dated between 1396 and 1404. The essentially similar badge of the Society of the Dragon founded by Zsigmond of Hungary in 1408 was set around the arms of members from at least 1419, but I have found no example of its use in this way by either that king or any of his successors. See Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), pp. 340, 342-344, 351-355.

[73] See Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (see n. 3), p. 273, citing R. Marks, *Stained Glass in England during the Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1993), Fig. 17. In fact, the earliest example of the display of the garter in this way is on the tomb of Robert Hallam, bishop of Salisbury and thus an officer of the Order, and the earliest example of its use by a companion is that on the tomb of Thomas, Lord Camoys, who died in 1419. The next examples are on the tomb of Lewis Robsart, Lord

companions before 1470, when the practice of the newly-founded French Order of St Michael (based directly on that of the Golden Fleece) may have stimulated its use.[74] Encircling the shield with a garter remained rare in England even in that environment to 1509, and would not become the *invariable* practice of the English king himself until 1532, when Henry VIII had it included on his great seal.[75] The Burgundian custom seems, therefore, to have been the principal model for the usage maintained to this day in most European monarchies, and to have been well ahead of its imitators.

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Bourchier, erected in Westminster Abbey at some time after his death in 1431. See Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), p. 488.

[74] The second monarchical order of the kings of France, dedicated to St Michael the Archangel, was founded by Louis XI in 1469 on the direct model of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and was therefore provided with a similar sort of collar, composed of cockle-shells bound by knots and supporting a pendant in the form of an effigy of the order's patron in armour standing on the devil. The collar of the new order was depicted surrounding the shield of its founder on the first page of the first statute book, of which the founder's own copy has been preserved as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 19.819, and the illumination has been reproduced most recently in: M.-H. Tesnière and P. Gifford, eds., *Creating French Culture: Treasures from the Bibliothèque nationale de France* (New Haven/London, 1995), p. 113. Two versions of the royal achievement were represented in this page. The complete achievement of the king of France, with the shield surrounded by the collar and timbered with the crested helmet, and a very large representation of the royal crown surrounding the pavilion behind it, was first represented as the frontispiece of *La Mer des hystoires. La martirologie des sainctz*, printed by Pierre le Rouge, the first official printer to the king, in 1488. It is reproduced in Tesnière and Gifford, *Creating French Culture*, p. 119. Another early example, dating from some time between 1488 and 1498 is the central element of the frontispiece painted for Charles VIII over that of the duchess of Bourbon in the manuscript of *Le Livre des faiz Monseigneur Saint Loys jadis roy de France*, now preserved as Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 2829, and published in facsimile as *Saint Louis Roi de France: Livre des faits de Monseigneur Saint Louis* (Paris, 1990). The achievement in the frontispiece (p. 18) consists of the crowned and collared shield alone, although the king's motto *Plus qu'autre* is set above it on the field, and his cryptic letter, S, is set around it on the frame, apparently in his livery-colours. The first use of the collar on a royal seal is on the counterseal of Louis XII for the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Naples in 1498. M. Dalas, *Les Sceaux des rois et de régence*, Corpus des sceaux français du Moyen Âge 2 (Paris, 1991), p. 309, no. 228 bis.

[75] See A. Fraser, *The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England* (London, 1975), pp. 156-157, 184-185. The heraldic commentary is by J. Brooke-Little, sometime Norroy and Ulster king-of-arms, and president of the Heraldry Society. See also D'A. J. D. Boulton, 'Headgear of Nobiliary Rank in Germany, Italy, France, and England: The First Phases in the History of the National Systems' (forthcoming in the proceedings of the XIIth International Colloquium on Heraldry 2002, press unknown).

Philippe 'the Good' first displayed his arms encircled with his new Order's collar on the seal he had cut for the Order's own use in 1430,[76] and as this seal continued in use to 1480, it served as a potential model for fully half a century. (See Fig. 10.) In this setting, however, the collar was actually wrapped over the shoulders of the lion supporters, and impinged only on the lower half of the shield. The earliest representation I have found of the collar in what was to be the normal position – emerging from behind the upper corners and hanging along the sides and base of the shield – is in the historiated capital of the prologue to the statutes of the Order in the Hague manuscript, prepared in or shortly after 1433.[77] Nevertheless, it is likely that this was preceded by the representations of the collars set around the arms of the Sovereign and companions on the panels bearing their armorial achievements painted by the ducal painter Hue de Boulogne for their stalls in the Church of St Peter in Lille where the first Chapter of the Order was held in 1431.[78] The panels from the meeting in Ghent in 1445 and 1559 have actually been preserved *in situ*.[79] The collar first appeared on a ducal *seal* in this fashion only on the secret seal of Charles 'the Rash' cut in 1467,[80] (see Fig. 7c) but had in the meantime been represented many times in every type of context in which an armorial achievement might be set, including the armorials of the companions that were appended to many of the statute books[81] and occasionally produced as separate volumes,[82] and in

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[76]  Laurent, 'Les sceaux de l'ordre' (see n. 65), p. 30.

[77]  On the Hague manuscript of the statutes, see A. S. Korteweg, 'Le manuscrit KB, 76 E 14 et la décoration des livres des Statuts aux XVe et XVIe siècles', in: Van den Bergen-Pantens, *L'Ordre de la Toison d'or* (see n. 12), pp. 39-44.

[78]  See De Gruben, *Les chapitres* (see n. 12), p. 111, citing Archives départmentales du Nord, Lille, B 1495, fol. 183v, published as P.J. no. 36, pp. 433-434. No reference is made to the survival of these. Hue de Boulogne had also held a similar post under Jehan 'the Fearless'. He is recorded as having prepared panels of some sort for the Chapter in Bruges in 1432 (p. 149), and as having done so for the duke for the Chapter in Dijon in 1433, but there is no record of payments for the panels of the companions' achievements, which they must have had to pay for themselves (pp. 169-170). There seems to be no mention of the panels for the next Chapter, held in Brussels in 1435 (pp. 193-195), nor for that held in Lille in 1436 (p. 205).

[79]  See De Gruben, *Les chapitres* (see n. 12), p. 51, ill. 13.

[80]  Laurent, 'Les sceaux de l'ordre' (see n. 65), p. 27, Fig. 4.

[81]  On the statute books, see J. Lemaire, 'Considérations codicologiques sur les manuscrits des Statuts de l'ordre de la Toison d'or', Korteweg, 'Le manuscrit KB, 76 E 14' (see n. 77), A. Payne, 'Statutes and Armorial of the Order of the Golden Fleece, British Library, Harley Ms 6199', and M. Debae, 'Le Livre des Status de Charles de Croÿ, prince de Chimay', in: Van den Bergen-Pantens, *L'Ordre de la Toison d'or* (see n. 12), pp. 31-38, 39-44, 45-46, 48-49.

[82]  On the armorials of the Order, see A. Korteweg, 'Un présent offert au chapitre de 1473: le livre des Statuts avec armorial, La Haye, KB, Hs 76 E 10', C. de Mérindol, 'Le Grand armorial équestre de la Toison d'or, le Petit armorial équestre, l'armorial

various tapestries.[83] It also appeared in miniatures of ducal manuscripts,[84] and in prints made from woodcuts of the ducal achievement meant to be used either as a bookplate or as a propaganda leaflet.[85] The last form of representation was especially important under Maximilian, who in 1512 also employed the greatest wood-engravers of the day – Hans Burgkmair and Albrecht Dürer – to engrave both a vast triumphal procession and an equally vast triumphal arch for him, each including numerous representations of the collar of the Order.[86] (See Figures 2 and 3.)

Among the earliest datable representations of the collar surrounding the shield of the ducal arms is that set at the upper left corner of the votive tablet set up by Isabella of Portugal, the wife of the founder, by 1446. This

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Gaignières', C. van den Bergen-Pantens, 'Fiabilité des quelques armoriaux de l'ordre', in: Van den Bergen-Pantens, *L'Ordre de la Toison d'or* (see n. 12), pp. 50-55, 56-61, 62-64.

[83] For tapestries bearing the Order's collar, see Matile, *Die Burgunderbeute* (see n. 58), pp. 205-210.

[84] The achievement with the shield surrounded by the collar is depicted in a manuscript of the *Vie et Miracles de Notre Dame*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 9198; published in Lecat, *Le siècle* (see n. 43), p. 133. Lecat gives no reference to the manuscript number, but Philippe 'the Good' ordered a copy of the work in question which is now preserved under that shelfmark.

[85] The full achievement of Duke Charles 'the Rash' was engraved within a gabled tabernacle representing the emblems set on the Prinsenhof of Bruges, by Master W. A. (active 1465-1486) probably for use as a bookplate; a copy is preserved in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, published in Lecat, *Le siècle* (see n. 43), p. 125. See H. Pinoteau, *Héraldique capétienne* (Paris, 1979), pp. 85 and 93, n. 28. A looser sort of achievement was engraved by Dürer for Maximilian, consisting of five shields bearing the arms of the kingship of the Romans, the kingdom of Hungary, the archduchy of Austria, the duchy of Burgundy, and the princely county of Tyrol, all arranged in a cross, the first three crowned and the fourth surmounted by the flint-and-firesteel enfiling a saltire of two plain sticks. The whole set of crowned shields is surrounded by a giant collar of the Order. See Kurth, *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer* (see n. 60), Pl. 129. Dürer also engraved the achievement of the younger son of Duke Philippe 'the Handsome', Ferdinand, king of Hungary and Bohemia, surrounded by the collar of the Order. (See *ibidem*, Pl. 343.)

[86] The former has been republished by Dover as *The Triumph of Maximilian I: Woodcuts by Hans Burgkmair and Others*, ed., transl., introd. S. Appelbaum (New York, 1964), and the latter as *Maximilian's Triumphal Arch: Woodcuts by Albrecht Dürer and Others* (New York, 1972). In the former, Maximilian is represented wearing the collar of the Order in Pls. 93, 95, 97, 99, 101, and 105, but it is never featured very prominently. In the latter the collar of the Order not only surrounds the shield of Philippe 'the Handsome' that is set on a large scale just below that of Maximilian himself at the top of the central panel of the arch (Plate 28), but is given a very prominent place on a much larger scale, hung in a circle set into the flat front of the half-domes that surmount the secondary tiers of the arch to either side of the central one (Plates 17 and 23).

tablet,[87] now preserved in Basel, is of particular interest here, because it depicts the duke, the duchess, and their sons surrounded by emblems and figures associated both with the Order and with the Burgundian state. The duke and his eldest surviving son Charles both wear the collar of the Order as well as tabards of the ducal arms, and the latter are themselves repeated on the cloth covering the ducal *prie-dieu* and on the shields of his two sons and his wife (where they are impaled with the arms of Portugal). The principal patron saint both of the Order and of Burgundy is represented standing behind the duke and carrying the planks of his cross, and presents the duke to the other patron of the Order, the Blessed Virgin Mary – who is shown seated and holding her dead son in the fashionable manner of a *pietà*. Above the ducal crest is set the motto adopted by Philippe at the time of his marriage to Isabella and the foundation of the Order, *Aultre n'aray*, while below the shield of the duchess is set the answering motto *tant que je vive*.[88] Although the mottoes and the patronage of the Virgin were coeval with the Order and closely associated with it under its founder, all of the other elements of this complex icon, including the flints-and-firesteels that made up the collar of the Order, actually antedated the foundation by a number of years, and continued to be employed in an essentially similar fashion after the foundation. To understand their relationship both to the Order and to the symbolic significance of the emblems of the Burgundian state it will there-fore be necessary to examine briefly how each of the latter came to be adopted and employed.

## 4. The Independent Emblems of the Dukes and the Ducal State

### 4.1. Heraldic or Armorial Emblems

#### 4.1.1. The Arms
By 1350, all princes and nobles in Latin Christendom had come to use at least the basic emblem of a family that has long been termed 'heraldic', because they were created, modified, combined, and displayed at least partly on the advice of the 'heralds of arms' – in whose profession they occupied a central place. Little is known of the emblem-related activities of

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[87] For a representation of this tablet, see Matile, *Die Burgunderbeute* (see n. 58), p. 322, Abb. 297.

[88] A similar composition can be found in the painting of Philippe in his copy of the *Vie et Miracles de Nostre Dame*, now preserved as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 9198, fol. 1r, copied in 1456, and published in Lecat, *Le siècle* (see n. 43), p. 133. It represents Philippe in armour and armorial surcoat, flanked by SS. Andrew and Philip, under a similar middle achievement held by an angel, accom-panied by his motto *Aultre naray*. He is being presented to the infant Christ, the Virgin, and St Anne.

the particular heralds who served the Burgundian dukes in our period, but it is very likely that they played an important role in determining exactly how the dukes employed all of their heraldic (or 'armorial') emblems.[89]

The oldest species of heraldic emblem was the 'arms': a polychromatic design most commonly represented covering the surface of a shield,[90] though frequently depicted in this period covering the surfaces of flags, coats, dresses, mantles, horsecloths, hangings, sails, and other such objects. By 1363, arms had long been the most important type of emblem employed by all princes and princely governments to represent their identity and authority, and the arms of the dukes of Burgundy continued to play that role throughout and beyond the period with which we are concerned.

From the time of the accession of the first Valois duke, the ducal arms represented the ducal dynasty (the royal house of France), their place within it (the head of the cadet branch founded by Philippe 'the Bold'), and their possession of the dukeship and duchy of Burgundy. Philippe 'the Bold' had been assigned on coming of age the lineal arms *France ancient differenced by a bordure compony Argent and Gules*, which proclaimed him to be a son of the king of France, and was called by contemporaries *issu de France*. When he was given the duchy of Burgundy by his father in 1363, he had adopted a quarterly coat in which these arms (thenceforth misleadingly called 'Burgundy Modern') occupied the first and fourth quarters, and the arms of the former dynasty (*Bendy of six Or and Azure, a bordure Gules*, misleadingly called 'Burgundy Ancient') occupied the third and fourth

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[89] By 1350 the heralds of Latin Christendom – all attached to the households of kings and princes – had come to form an international corps of experts in all matters pertaining to the noble Estate (including their lineages, dignities, games, and ceremonies as well as their emblems), and functioned both as a priesthood of the secular religion of chivalry and as a sort of *corps diplomatique* for their masters. After 1415, when the office of Garter King of Arms was created, there might in principle be four grades of herald: (1) *pursuivants* or apprentices, (2) *heralds* proper, (3) *provincial* or *dominional kings of arms* (like Flanders and Artois in the Burgundian service), and (4) *domanial kings of arms*, attached – like Garter and Golden Fleece – to the prince's order of knighthood. Some heralds were also active propagandists, and from 1430 to 1477 the Burgundian heralds were especially active in the production and collection of treatises both on their own profession and on such matters as how a duke might become a king (quoted below in the essay by Jan Veenstra).

[90] This species of emblem crystallized in northern France and adjacent regions *c.* 1130-60, and dominated the interest of the heralds until about 1570. As a result, the field of heraldic expertise concerned with all of the emblems eventually associated with the arms in the achievement came to be called *armorie* in both French and English by 1489, and in the latter tongue the term 'armorial' was introduced in 1567 to distinguish this field and its contents from the rest of what would come to be called 'heraldry' (1572).

quarters as a mark of his territorial authority. This pair of coats was to represent thereafter the dual claim of successive Valois dukes to be at once the head of a major branch of the royal house of France and, as lord of the duchy of Burgundy, the Dean of the lay Peers of France, and thus the natural head of the Second Estate of the French kingdom. Both of these statuses were regularly emphasized in official Burgundian propaganda.[91]

On acquiring the county palatine of Burgundy and counties of Flanders, Artois, Nevers, and Rethel *jure uxoris* on the death of his father-in-law in 1384, Philippe had set the arms of all of these principalities except Nevers on the field of his great seal, but had not incorporated any of them into his personal arms. On his death in 1404, however, his son Jehan 'the Fearless' had set at the centre of his arms an inescutcheon of the arms of Flanders alone (*Or a lion rampant Sable armed and langued Gules*) to represent this whole inheritance. To his father's marshalled coat, Philippe 'the Good' finally added in 1430 – the very year of the foundation of the Order – the arms of his newly-acquired Duchies of Brabant (*Sable a lion rampant Or armed and langued Gules*) and Limburg (*Argent a lion rampant Gules armed and langued Or*), each impaled by the arms of Burgundy in the second and third quarters.[92] Thereafter, this rather curiously marshalled coat[93] was not to be modified before the extinction of the male line of the dynasty, and even then most of its elements would be preserved, usually in a single grand quarter, in the ever more complex sets of marshallings used by their Habsburg and Bourbon heirs.

Maximilian von Habsburg, after becoming duke in the right of his wife Marie in 1477, adopted a marshalled coat based on the marital coat of his wife.[94] In the latter, her father's and grandfather's whole quarterly coat of Valois-Burgundy and Burgundy impaling Brabant and Limburg was impaled to the sinister of the quarterly coat borne by Maximilian before the marriage: quarterly of five two and three, first the arms of the archduchy of Austria Ancient[95] (or Lower Austria, *Azure five eagles two, two, and one Or*), second those of the archduchy of Austria Modern (or Upper Austria,

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[91]  See Prietzel's contribution in the present volume.

[92]  See Pinoteau, *Héraldique capétienne* (see n. 85), p. 91.

[93]  It is unclear why Philippe did not simply replace the third and fourth quarters of his original coat with quarterings of the arms of Brabant and Limburg, rather than retaining the original arrangement and impaling the arms of Burgundy in the second and third with those of the two additional duchies. It is also unclear why he did not later add the arms of his other duchies.

[94]  Both of these coats appear on their joint great seal of 1480-1482 and their secret seal of 1480-1481. See Laurent, 'Les sceaux de l'ordre' (see n. 65), pp. 27-28, nos. 5 and 6.

[95]  On the arms of the various Habsburg lands in Germany, see F. Gall, *Österreichische Wappenkunde: Handbuch der Wappenwissenschaft* (Vienna, 1977), pp. 124-150.

*Gules a fess Argent*), third those of the duchy of Styria (*Vert a panther rampant Argent*), fourth those of the duchy of Carinthia (*Per pale, dexter Gules a fess Argent, sinister Or three lions passant Sable*), and fifth those of the duchy of Carniola (*Or an eagle displayed Azure, beaked, langued, and membered Gules, charged on its breast and wings with a narrow crescent gobbony Argent and Gules*); over all an inescutcheon of the arms of the princely county of Tyrol (*Argent, an eagle displayed Gules, crowned, beaked, and membered and charged on its breast with a narrow crescent ending in trefoils Or*). On the shield representing Maximilian, the arrangement of the quarterings is identical, but the design is unified by replacing the inescutcheons bearing the arms of Tyrol and Flanders with a single inescutcheon set at the centre, bearing both coats impaled, but in reverse order, so that Flanders appears to the dexter and Tyrol to the sinister.

Their son, Philippe 'the Handsome', bore a coat similar to that of his father until 1505,[96] when he had himself proclaimed king of Castile in the right of his wife Juana 'the Mad', who had succeeded her mother Isabel 'the Catholic' in 1504.[97] As king, archduke, and duke of Burgundy he bore a marshalled coat in which the first and fourth quarters were charged with a complex combination of the arms of Castile, Leon, Aragon, and Sicily, and the third and fourth quarters bore a simplified version of his earlier coat: quarterly, first Austria Modern, second Valois-Burgundy, third Burgundy, fourth Brabant, over all on an inescutcheon Flanders impaling Tyrol.[98]

Thus, the arms of sovereignty in Burgundy changed several times under the first Habsburg dukes. Under the last three Valois rulers, however, precisely the same coat was used in association with the collar and other insignia of the Order from the time of its foundation. This coat functioned, like the equivalent marshalled coat of the kings of England, to represent the sovereign authority of the dukes of Burgundy throughout their domain. And although it sometimes appeared alone – especially on banners and other armiferous flags – it was more commonly associated with some or all of the other emblems used by the current duke, most of which were also associated with the Order of the Golden Fleece. In fact, as I noted above, when depicted on a shield it was almost invariably encircled after 1430 by the collar of the Order, so that the emblem of public authority and the emblem of the Order were associated in the closest possible fashion.

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[96] The two faces of the joint seal of Maximilian and Philippe attached to a document of 1486 (Lille, Archives départmentales du Nord, moulage Demay, Flandre, 82) are represented in Cauchies, *Philippe le Beau* (see n. 59), p. 27, Pl. 3. On the reverse, the counterseal bears a shield of precisely the arms just described.

[97] These are represented in a set of stained-glass windows now preserved in the Cloisters, a branch of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

[98] This appeared on his great seal of Majesty as king of Castile cut in 1505, reproduced in Laurent, 'Les sceaux de l'ordre' (see n. 65), p. 29, no. 8.

### 4.1.2. The Crest and Supporters

The arms always constituted the most important of the armorial emblems of the Burgundian dukes, but they were not the only emblems of the armorial family to be employed. Like most western knights after 1350, the dukes also possessed a stable crest (French *cimier*): a three-dimensional figure set atop their helmet, usually arising either from a 'torse' (a wreath composed of tubes of coloured silk twisted together in a circle), or some form of coronet or hat. Furthermore, like many of the great barons and princes of the west after about 1400, they also came to possess at some point in the first third of the fifteenth century a set of supporters: figures that were set either behind the shield (when used singly) or to either side of it (when used in pairs), and were represented as 'supporting' both the shield and the helmet set above it. And like most of the lay noblemen who possessed this set of armorial emblems, the dukes of Burgundy frequently displayed iconic representations of one or both of these secondary armorial emblems in association with their shield of arms together in an increasingly formalized composition technically called in English since the sixteenth century an 'armorial achievement'.[99]

In the Burgundian lands, the shield of arms and the collar of the Order that surrounded it were normally displayed under the Valois dukes as part of an achievement that always included a barred helm bearing the double-fleur-de-lys crest of the Burgundian branch of the French royal house; it differed from the crest of the king in having a torse of red and white (taken from the brisure of the ducal arms) in place of the open crown as a crest-base, and in having red tufts at the point of the central shaft and at the top of each of the four curved arms.[100] Under the Habsburgs, however, this crest

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[99] The English heraldic term 'achievement' designates a complex iconic figure composed of the shield of arms and at least one other armorial sign, either emblematic or insignial, associated with it in a formal way. None of the other languages of Europe has a precise equivalent of the English term 'achievement', though the French word *armoiries* is often used in the same sense. As a result, the words for 'arms' have come in many languages to be used to designate the achievement as well as the arms proper, to the confusion of all.

[100] On the crests of the sons of the kings of France in the fifteenth century, see Pinoteau, *Héraldique capétienne* (see n. 85), pp. 16-17. The form of the crest used by the Valois dukes of Burgundy can be seen in the equestrian portraits of both Duke Philippe 'the Good' and his son Charles, count of Charolais, in the final series of portraits included in the *Grand armorial équestre de la Toison d'or*, fols. 149v and 141r, as numbered in the manuscript. It is worth noting here that a different crest (an owl displayed or on a torse of yellow and blue) was associated with the arms of the former line of dukes, used by the Valois dukes as arms of dominion, and that this crest is worn in the equestrian portrait of the duke of Burgundy in the series dedicated to the twelve Peers of France in the same armorial (fol. 57v or p. 127 as numbered). Pastoureau (Pastoureau and Popoff, *Grand armorial* (see n. 12), vol. 1,

was replaced in comparable contexts either by the panache of peacock feathers of the archduchy of Austria,[101] or by the archducal coronet.

The basic achievement of shield and crested helm was sometimes augmented by one or more supporters, though this practice only became common in the sixteenth century, and before about 1500 the supporters were essentially symbolic (and shared with many other lords) rather than emblematic (and therefore distinctive or unique).[102] Under the Valois dukes the supporters took the form of gold lions, used either singly or in matched pairs.[103] A pair of lions appears (perhaps for the first time) on the seal of the Order itself, engraved in 1432 and used to 1480.[104] (See Fig. 10.) On one seal of Charles 'the Rash' a pair of lions rampant gardant flank the collared shield and crested helmet in the most common arrangement,[105] but on his privy seal a single lion supporter actually wore the crested helm on its head and the collar of the Order around its neck.[106] Under the Habsburgs, the

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p. 57) attributes to the Valois dukes of Burgundy another crest, the head and neck of an ostrich, but he cites no example of such a crest, and I have never seen one. A crest of this form was, however, borne by the kings of Hungary (depicted in the *Grand armorial*, fol. 92r as numbered), and was at least attributed to the kings of peninsular Sicily or Naples (depicted in the same armorial on fol. 100r as numbered, on a figure bearing the arms of René Capet de Valois-Anjou, duke of Anjou, Lorraine, and Bar and sometime king of that kingdom).

[101] For the crest of Austria, which took the form of a 'panache' or bunch of peacock-tail-feathers arising from a coronet, see Gall, *Österreichische Wappenkunde* (see n. 95), Frontispiece and p. XV. It is represented in the *Grand armorial équestre de la Toison d'or* on fol. 17v as numbered.

[102] Angels were almost always symbolic of divine support, and were used on occasion by a great many princes and lords, including the dukes of Burgundy. After their foundation of the Order of St Michael in 1469, however, the kings of France made regular use of a pair of effigies of St Michael the Archangel in armour, and the distinctive attributes of these supporters converted them into true emblems. Generic lions were also primarily *symbolic* supporters, representing strength, courage, and royalty, and those used by the Burgundian dukes did not differ in any way from those used by thousands of other lords. The peculiar colour-scheme of the Habsburg gryphons, by contrast, converted them into emblems of the dynasty: 'beast-badges', to give them the English name for such figures. As such, they are still used to this day.

[103] For the lion-supporters of the ducal arms, see Laurent, 'Les sceaux de l'ordre' (see n. 65), pp. 24, 27. They also appear on the famous wood-cut by Master W. A., active in Bruges from 1465 to 1486. For a reproduction of this work (mentioned by Olivier de La Marche in his *Mémoires* and now preserved in the Bibiothèque Royale Albert Ier in Brussels), see Lecat, *Le siècle* (see n. 43), p. 125. On its content, see Pinoteau, *Héraldique capétienne* (see n. 85), pp. 85 and 93, n. 28.

[104] See Laurent, 'Les sceaux de l'ordre' (see n. 65), p. 24, Fig. 1.

[105] See Matile, *Die Burgunderbeute* (see n. 58), p. 236, Abb. 231.

[106] See Laurent, 'Les sceaux de l'ordre' (see n. 65), p. 28, Fig. 6.

lions were replaced by a pair of gryphons with gold fur and black feathers, borrowed from the Austrian branch of the Enterprise of the Stole and Jar.[107]

Neither the double fleur-de-lys nor the lion seems to have been displayed in an iconic form outside the context of an achievement under the Valois dukes, and the three-dimensional form of the crest was probably seen primarily at tournaments and funerals. Under Maximilian von Habsburg, however, the gryphon supporters were increasingly displayed not only in the context of his armorial achievements, but extracted from them. In the latter situation they were often placed in some sort of formal association with the non-armorial emblems of the Burgundian dukes, including the insignia of the Order of the Golden Fleece.[108] On the triumphal arch referred to above, for example, a pair of gryphons seated at the tops of engaged towers to either side of the great central tower are represented holding in their claws a Burgundian cross and a flint-and-firesteel badges spewing flames.[109]

## 4.2. Heraldic Insignia or Signs of Status

During the course of the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it became increasingly common for prelates and princes to include in their armorial achievements signs that were intended to represent their principal generic status or statuses, and must therefore be classified as insignia rather than emblems.[110] We have already seen that, after 1430, the armorial achievements of the Burgundian dukes normally included at least one form of insigne: the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which the dukes

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[107] On the Austrian 'Enterprise of the Stole and Jar', see Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), pp. 626-630.

[108] For examples of the gryphon used with the insignia of the Order, see Kurth, *The Complete Woodcuts of Dürer* (see n. 60), Pls. 129, 273, 279, 286, 312. For a representation of the ducal arms supported by gryphons, see Cauchies, *Philippe le Beau* (see n. 59), p. 27, Pl. 3.

[109] See *Maximilian's Triumphal Arch* (see n. 86), Pl. 24.

[110] On the nature of heraldic insignia, see D'A. J. D. Boulton, 'The Heraldic Authority and Armorial Insignia after Fifteen Years: Has Progress Been Made Towards Systematization?' Part I, in: *Heraldry in Canada* 37.2a (2003), pp. 26-35; *idem*, Part II, in: *Heraldry in Canada* 37.3 (2003), pp.16-28; *idem*, Part III, in: *Heraldry in Canada* 37.4 (2003), pp. 11-24; Boulton, 'The Distinctions between Emblems, Insignia, and Symbols and their Importance for the Study and Description of Heraldic Signs', forthcoming in *Heraldry in Canada/L'Héraldique au Canada: The Journal of the Royal Heraldry Society of Canada/Le Journal de la Société royale héraldique du Canada* 1 (2005); and *idem*, 'The Incorporation of the Insignia of Lay Offices into Armorial Achievements to 1570, especially in the Kingdom of France', forthcoming in the Proceeding of the XIIIth International Colloquium on Heraldry, Troyes, France, September 2003 (2005).

shared with all of the other companions of the order. The insigne of membership in a knightly order was in fact the most common type of insigne employed armorially by lay princes of all ranks before about 1520, but by 1400 a number of princes had begun to display either instead or in addition a cap, crown, or coronet insignial of their highest lordly dignity.[111]

The history of the armorial use of these forms of insignial headgear is complex, but it can be said that armorial use generally lagged behind the use of the functional forms of such headgear by a century or more, and that the use of functional headgear of this type by subregal princes officially began in Germany in 1238 (when the ducal dignity was assigned a distinctive form of cap[112]), and was extended there in 1356 when the dukes of Austria adopted a special cap and coronet.[113] (See Fig. 2.) Nevertheless, the use of functional caps or coronets insignial of lay dignities did not spread to any other kingdom before 1343 (when a distinctive form of coronet was assigned to the dignity of prince in England[114]), and did not

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[111] On the history of crowns, coronets, and caps as insignia of secular dignities, see esp. E. F. Twining, *A History of the Crown Jewels of Europe* (London, 1960); and Boulton, 'Headgear of Nobiliary Rank' (see n. 75).

[112] According to Twining, *Crown Jewels* (see n. 111), p. 140, Friderich II conferred the privilege of wearing what he called the *piletus ducalis circumdatus ferto pinnito* on the dukes of Germany, at least, by an act of that year.

[113] Duke Rudolf IV (duc. 1358-1365) had unsuccessfully sought the title of palatine archduke of Austria from the Emperor Karl IV, and had instead procured the forgery of the document called the *Privilegium Minus*, authorizing the dukes of Austria to wear a prince's mantle and a crown surmounted by gables over their ducal bonnet. The gables probably represented those officially characteristic of the ducal bonnet since 1228, while their metallic substance was probably meant to suggest the superiority of the dukes of Austria to all other dukes. To emphasize this idea, a single arch (inspired by that of the imperial crown) was added, running from front to back, and supporting a cross at its summit. It is first attested on the effigy of Duke Rudolf IV on his seal as Imperial Master of the Huntsmen from 1359-1361, but was soon set on the heads of statues of that duke and his duchess in the Cathedral Church of St Stephen in Vienna, on their tombs in that church, and on his funeral portrait. See R. Feuchtmüller, *Der Wiener Stephansdom* (Vienna, 1978), Pls. 125, 128, 129, 130, 134, 135, 164. It was worn by Duke Albrecht II in later statues (Pl. 162), and represented in a functional context on the tomb of that duke *c.* 1424 and on the tomb of Duke Ernst 'the Iron' in 1424. Thereafter it was commonly but not invariably represented set within a ducal cap, whose turned-up lining was usually indented to match the gables, and often aligned with them. See G. A. Seyler, *Geschichte der Heraldik (Wappenwesen, Wappenkunst, Wappenwissenschaft)* (Nuremberg, 1890; repr. Neustadt-an-der-Aisch, 1970), III.2, pp. 474-475.

[114] Edward III of England used a coronet in 1343 to invest his son Edward 'of Woodstock' – for whom he had already erected the first English duchy in 1337 – with the principality of Wales, first conferred on his own father in 1301. This was the first use of a circlet or coronal for such a purpose in England, the first anywhere

spread to France before about 1381 (when royal dukes began to wear a gold circlet without heighteners[115]), or to Italy before 1395 (when the new duke of Milan was invested with a ducal cap of the traditional German type[116]). The custom of wearing a gold circlet as a mark of dignity had certainly spread to Burgundy by 1390, as the first of the Valois dukes, Philippe 'the Bold', had himself portrayed wearing a simple circlet in the statue set into the portal of the Chartreuse of Champmol (which he had built as a ducal mausoleum), carved in 1391-1397.[117]

Of course, the kings of Latin Christendom had all worn crowns insignial of their dignity since the eighth or ninth century, but the use of iconic head-gear as part of an armorial achievement had developed slowly even on the regal level, beginning in a limited way in France in the last decades of the thirteenth century.[118] The practice did not continue there after 1300, how-ever, and is not attested again before 1350, when a representation of a crowned shield appeared on a seal of King Jehan II, father of Philippe 'the Bold'.[119] While the kings of France made a gradually increasing use of a

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I have found since the early thirteenth century, and the first anywhere to be con-ferred by a king on a subordinate lord he had promoted to a higher rank.

[115] Louis I, duke of Anjou, Touraine, and Calabria, had himself represented on his seal of 1381 wearing a simple circlet, and there is a painting of him in a miniature of the same period showing him wearing the same sort of coronet. See C. de Mérindol, *Le roi René et la Seconde Maison d'Anjou: Emblématique, Art, Histoire* (Paris, 1987), Pl. IX, Figs. 6, 5a.

[116] See E. F. Twining, *European Regalia* (London, 1967), p. 145.

[117] See W. Swaan, *Art and Architecture of the Late Middle Ages: 1350 to the Ad-vent of the Renaissance* (London, 1977), p. 97, Fig. 143.

[118] On the earliest use of the armorial use of royal crowns, see M. Prinet, 'Armoiries couronnées sur deux sceaux français de la fin du XIIIe et du commencement du XIVe siècle', in: *Revue archéologique*, 4e série, 14 (1909), pp. 370-379; cf. *Revue numismatique* (1909), p. 106.

[119] For the use of the crowned shield on French royal seals, see Dalas, *Les Sceaux des rois* (see n. 74). Although the crown and the shield of arms had been associated on the seal and counterseal of regency of Louis IX as early as 1270 (p. 158, nos. 78, 78 bis), and a crown had been placed above three fleurs-de-lys on the seal of sub-stitution of Philippe VI by 1343 (p. 196, no. 113), the first king to set a crowned shield of his arms on any of his seals was Jehan II (1350-1364), whose first secret seal bore a shield in a central roundel with a very small crown in the spandrel above it and the other insignia of kingship – the sceptre and hand of justice – set in the spandrels to either side (p. 207, no. 125). His son Charles V (1364-1380) used a similar design with a larger crown both on his secret seal (p. 225, no. 145) and on the counterseal to his great seal (p. 218, no. 139 bis). Thereafter, the crowned shield remained characteristic of the secret seal to at least 1515, but appeared on the great seals proper only under the interloper Henri (VI) (pp. 261, 263). From the accession of Louis XI in 1461, however, a crowned shield supported by angels was the regular motif of the counterseal of the great seal (pp. 272-273, nos. 190 bis, 191 bis), the

shield of their arms crowned with their royal crown from that date, the kings of England do not appear to have followed their example before about 1382 (when the usage was certainly adopted by the current queen),[120] the kings of Scotland before perhaps 1437,[121] the kings of Hungary and Bohemia before 1440 or 1444,[122] and the kings of Castile and Leon before 1465 or 1474.[123] In any case, all Latin kings continued to prefer the same purely emblematic form of achievement as their noble subjects down to about 1485, and the form including a crown in place of the crested helmet does not seem to have become common anywhere before about 1520.

The use of an arched, 'imperial' crown by mere kings – which encouraged the development of archless coronets for subregal lords – began in England under Henry V, probably at his coronation in 1414. The practice was at first confined to England, however, did not become common even there until the accession of Henry VII in 1485, and did not become normal there until the 1520s.[124] Furthermore, the practice spread first to England's ally Portugal[125] only in 1481, to England's enemies Scotland and France

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seal of substitution (p. 274, no. 192), and the deputed seal of the Parlements of Paris and Bordeaux (pp. 276-277, nos. 194, 195) and a crowned shield without supporters was used on the counterseal of the seal of substitution (pp. 274-275, nos. 192 bis and 193 bis). Under Charles VIII the motif was extended to the deputed seal of the Parlements of Languedoc (p. 287, no. 206) and Brittany (p. 289, no. 208).

[120] In England, the use of the crowned shield of the royal arms seems to date from the reign of Richard II (1377-1399), though it is possible that it began under his predecessor Edward III. Richard certainly set this combination both on his privy seal and on his signet seal (of which I have casts), on both of which the crown has three visible fleurons and occupies about two thirds of the upper rim of the shield. See P. D. A. Harvey and A. McGuinness, *A Guide to British Medieval Seals* (Toronto and Buffalo, 1996), p. 36, Fig. 31. Both of Richard's queens, Anne of Bohemia (1382) and Isabel of France (1396), also adopted seals bearing nothing but a shield of their arms surmounted by a similar crown, occupying only about half of the upper edge of the shield in each case. For reproductions of these seals, see respectively W. H. St John Hope, *Heraldry for Craftsmen and Designers* (London, 1913), Pl. VII, A; and J. H. Pinches and R. V. Pinches, *The Royal Heraldry of England* (London, 1974), p. 63, Fig. 69.

[121] The earliest seal of a Scottish king bearing this motif that I have identified is the privy seal of James II (1437-1460), a reproduction of which is published in Harvey and McGuinness, *British Medieval Seals* (see n. 120), p. 37, Fig. 32.

[122] See Seyler, *Geschichte der Heraldik* (see n. 113), III.2., pp. 473-477, supplemented, and J. Deér, *Die Heilige Krone Ungarns* (Vienna, 1966), Tafel CXXI, Nr. 376.

[123] See F. Menéndez Pidal de Navascués, *Heráldica Medieval Española*, vol. 1: *La Casa Real de León y Castilla* (Madrid, 1982), pp. 194, 201.

[124] See D. Hoak, 'The iconography of the crown imperial', in: *idem*, ed., *Tudor Political Culture* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 54-103.

[125] João II of Portugal added imperial arches to his crown for his coronation in

only in 1488 and 1494 respectively,[126] and to other kingdoms only after 1554,[127] and seems to have remained uncommon outside of England itself before about 1520.

In these circumstances, it cannot be surprising that the armorial use of headgear indicative of the subregal dignities of prince and duke did not begin even in the countries where functional caps and coronets were worn until 1445, when the ducal or (from 1453) archducal[128] coronet of Austria was first certainly used over a shield of arms in a Austrian armorial prepared in that year, and this arrangement first appeared on a seal in 1450.[129] Even this use was precocious, however, as the general display of the archducal coronet in this fashion on tombs and other monuments and memorials does not seem to have begun until early in the sixteenth century, when the comparable use of ducal caps seems also to have begun at least in Austria.[130] The first systematic use of the royal crown, archducal coronet,

1481, undoubtedly in direct imitation of English practice. Twining, *Crown Jewels of Europe* (see n. 111), p. 47.

[126] James IV of Scotland first displayed an arched crown on a coin minted in the year of his accession, 1488, and around 1500 had himself and his queen painted wearing such crowns in a psalter now in the Nationalbibliothek in Vienna (*loc. cit.*).

[127] Charles VIII of France had an arched crown made to take with him on his journey of conquest in 1494, which was to have culminated in the reconquest of Constantinople from the Turks and his coronation there as emperor. He actually wore his new imperial crown and other regalia when he entered Milan, Rome, and Naples in triumph (*loc. cit.*), but continued to use the traditional open crown on all of his seals. Both of his immediate successors probably wore an arched crown on occasion, but it did not appear on the great seal or the coins until the accession of Henri II in 1547.

[128] Friderich III erected the duchy of Austria into an archduchy for his son Maximilian in 1453, and thereafter the crown was for some time used by all members of the archducal house. See Twining, *European Regalia* (see n. 116), p. 141.

[129] The *Wappenbuch für die österreichischen Herzöge.* A. C. Fox-Davies, *The Art of Heraldry: An Encyclopaedia of Armory* (London, 1986, [1]1904), p. 270 and Fig. 730. The armorial in question is now preserved as Vienna, Staatsarchiv, ms. 157; for a description, see E. Freiherr von Berchem, D. L. Galbreath, and O. Hupp, 'Die Wappenbücher des deutschen Mittelalters', in: *Archives Héraldiques Suisses* 40 (1926), no. 29, pp. 25-26. A version of this 'archducal hat' was set by Archduke Sigismund on the shield of Tyrol on his small seal of 1450, and another by Archduke Albrecht VI on the quarterly shield of his seal of 1462. It was also represented in Grünenberg's *Wappenbuch* of 1483. Seyler, *Geschichte der Heraldik* (see n. 113), III.2., p. 474, Fig. 494. In 1926, this armorial was in the Bibliothek des preussischen Justizministeriums, Berlin; for a description and bibliography, see Seyler, *Geschichte der Heraldik*, no. 46, pp. 90-91. Archduke Ferdinand I, count of the Tyrol, added a second arch to his archducal crown set on coins during his dominate (1564-1595), and this form persisted (Fox-Davies, *The Art of Heraldry*, p. 270).

[130] Outside of Austria, the only public representation of a ducal cap that I have found in Germany before 1500 is on the effigy of the duke in the brass monument of

and ducal cap to mark the shields of dominions of those ranks in Germany seems to have been in the armorial of Conrad Grünenberg of 1483,[131] when Philipp von Habsburg had become duke of Burgundy but not yet archduke of Austria.

Outside of Germany, the use of functional subregal headgear of any kind may have been confined before about 1520 to the other imperial kingdoms of Lombardy and Arles, and to France, Castile, and England, and this limited the potential armorial use of caps and coronets to those countries. Two Lombard princes – Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, and Bonifazio Palaiologos, marquis of Montferrat – seem to have led the way when they began displaying coronets over their arms on their coins: the first from 1450 to 1466 and the second from 1483 to 1493.[132] This usage remained isolated in Italy before the 1480s, however, and remained rare there before the 1530s.[133] In England,[134] the practice seems to have been initiated im-

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Friderich I 'the Warlike', marquis of Meissen and first elector-duke of Saxony of the Wettin line (1423-1428), set in the Fürstenkapelle of the Cathedral Church of Meissen between 1440 and 1450. See T. Müller, *Sculpture in the Netherlands, Germany, France, and Spain: 1400 to 1500*, transl. E. and W. R. Scott (Harmondsworth, 1966), Plates, p. 28, Fig. A. The next example of this use is on the 'epitaph' or wall-monument of Duke Friderich III 'the Wise' of Saxony, in the church of the castle of Wittenberg, cast in 1527. See J. C. Smith, *German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance, c. 1520-1580: Art in an Age of Uncertainty* (Princeton, 1994), p. 137, Fig. 96. I have found no case of the use of a ducal cap to surmount a shield of arms antedating the year 1512, but it is entirely possible that there are cases that I have yet to discover.

[131] See the discussion of this armorial in Seyler, *Geschichte der Heraldik* (see n. 113), III.2, p. 474.

[132] See D. L. Galbreath and L. Jéquier, *Manuel du Blason* (Lausanne, 1977, [1]1942), p. 185, Figs. 511 and 512. The coronet used by the duke of Milan is heightened with five visible fleurons alternating with four visible pearls on tall points, and thus conforms to the princely-ducal-marchional type already in use by 1450 in England. The coronet placed over the arms of the marquis of Montferrat, by contrast, consists of a narrow circlet heightened with seven visible gables, and may therefore have been inspired by that of the archdukes of Austria. Federico Landi, marquis of Bardi, would set an identical form of coronet over his arms on a coin of 1590, suggesting that this came to be seen as a marchional type. See R. Friedberg, *Gold Coins of the World*, revised J. Friedberg (New York, [2]1965), p. 250, no. 70.

[133] Alphonso I d'Este, duke of Ferrara, set a narrow circlet with low points over his arms on coins apparently issued between 1505 and 1534, and the same type was retained by his successor Ercole II to his death in 1559 (Friedberg, *Gold Coins* (see n. 132), p. 258, no. 269); Giovanni Maria Varano, duke of Camerino, and his successor Giulia set a jewelled circlet without heighteners over their shield on a coin issued between 1511 and 1539 (*ibidem*, p. 253, nos. 147-150), but I have found no other Italian princes who adopted this practice before 1519.

[134] The first people to surmount their arms with coronets on their seals in England were Jasper Tudor, the king's uncle, and Lady Margaret Beaufort, the king's

mediately following the accession of the first Tudor king in 1485, and in Castile[135] the earliest example I have found dates from 1483.

In France, for reasons that are not really clear, the practice effectively began at an even later date. As we have seen, certain dukes seem to have adopted functional coronets of a similar type from as early as 1381, and some French dukes of the fifteenth century – including Jehan 'the Fearless' of Burgundy – were represented wearing such a coronet on their tomb or some other form or memorial.[136] Furthermore, the three duke-peers, including their dean the duke of Burgundy, are actually depicted wearing such a coronet in a roughly contemporary representation of the coronation of Charles VII in 1429, and wearing a coronet of a different type in a representation of the coronation of St Louis IX painted not long before 1488.[137] Nevertheless, I have found only one isolated case of the lord or lady of a French duchy displaying a coronet armorially before 1520, and that was Gabrielle Capet de Bourbon-Montpensier, viscountess of Thouars, whose arms were thus marked in a manuscript of 1510/16.[138] Otherwise, I

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mother; both appear to have had seals with this form of achievement cut shortly after Henry's accession in 1485. See St John Hope, *Heraldry for Craftsmen* (see n. 120), pp. 154 ff.

[135] See F. Menéndez Pidal de Navascués, 'Las armas de los Mendozas: Un ejemplo de los usos de fines de la Edad Media', in: *idem*, ed., *Las Armerías en Europa al Comenzar la Edad Moderna y so Proyección al Neuvo Mundo: Actas del VII Coloquio Internacional de Heráldica, Cáceres, 30 sept.-4 oct. de 1991* (Madrid, 1993), pp. 284, 292, Fig. 3.

[136] The earliest use of a coronet on a French tomb effigy that I have found is on that of Philippe's elder brother Jehan, duke of Berry and Auvergne, now in the crypt of Bourges Cathedral. The coronet is again a circlet perhaps two inches broad, but is entirely covered with large gems cut alternately square and in quatrefoils, and trimmed on both its upper and lower rim with a continuous row of pearls. See Müller, *Sculpture in the Netherlands* (see n. 130), Plates, p. 22. Jehan 'the Fearless', son of Philippe 'the Bold' and his successor as duke of Burgundy, was represented in a simpler version of this type of coronet, without pearls, on his tomb in Dijon, constructed between 1443 and 1470, and Louis, duke of Bourbon, had himself represented wearing a narrower version of this type of circlet on his tomb in the Church of Saint-Pierre, Souvigny, in 1453. See A. Chastel, *French Art: The Renaissance, 1430-1620*, transl. D. Dusinherre (Paris/New York, 1995), pp. 60, 90.

[137] See *Livre des faits de Monseigneur Saint Louis* (see n. 74), p. 21. The coronets worn by the three dukes in this miniature take the form of narrow circlets heightened with five visible fleurons in a bifoliate form that looks like that of an heraldic chessrook. The three counts wear on their brows only a narrow band of gold fabric, supporting some sort of concave roundel about three inches wide on their foreheads. The latter form of headgear might be considered a diadem, but it is certainly not a coronet.

[138] Her portrait accompanied by her marital arms *en bannière* and surmounted with a jewelled circlet of the type long used by dukes, is preserved in Paris, Archives

have found only one duke of French blood – Jehan Capet de Valois-Anjou, duke of Calabria and heir apparent to the Duchies of Anjou, Lorraine and Bar and to the thrones of peninsular Sicily and Jerusalem – who set a coronet over his arms before 1520, and he did so both in 1439 and in the 1450s.[139]

In these circumstances, it is less surprising than it might have been that none of the 'Great Dukes of the West', as the dukes of Burgundy liked to call themselves in the fifteenth century, seems to have made use of a coronet in any armorial or comparable iconic context before 1477. While both of the first two Valois dukes certainly *wore* such a coronet, and Jehan 'the Fearless' was represented wearing one on his tomb in Dijon, constructed between 1443 and 1470, Philippe 'the Good' – though a duke in Germany as well as France – does not seem to have been represented wearing either a ducal cap or coronet in his lifetime. In a statue of him completed *c.* 1478, now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, he is portrayed wearing a cap encircled by a coronet, but this may well reflect the ideas of the new Habsburg régime. His son, Duke Charles 'the Rash', certainly owned a coronet, but is not known to have worn it.[140]

Thus, so far as I can discover, the practices of being portrayed in a coronet and of displaying a comparable iconic coronet over the arms of state were normalized in the former Burgundian domain only under the Habsburgs, who as we have seen had been the very first continental princes to wear a coronet insignial of their dignity, and had permitted an iconic coronet to be set over their arms as early as 1445. An archducal coronet[141]

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Nationales, Chartrier de Thouars 1 AP 220, fol. 1v, published in Gabrielle de Bourbon, *Œuvres spirituelles 1510-1516*, ed. E. Berriot-Salvadore (Paris, 1999).

[139] I have found only two examples of the use of a coronet to surmount the arms of a French prince before 1520, both involving the arms of Jehan Capet de Valois-Anjou, duke of Calabria and heir apparent to the Duchies of Anjou, Lorraine and Bar and to the thrones of peninsular Sicily and Jerusalem. In 1439, Jehan had a plain circlet of the sort worn by some other dukes in France set over his arms in the register of a confraternity, and between 1454 and 1460 he did so again in a window set in the chapel of the convent of La Beaumette. See De Mérindol, *Le roi René* (see n. 115), Pl. LXV, Fig. 279, and Pl. XLII, Fig. 179. It is striking that, while those members of the House of Valois-Anjou who claimed to be kings (including all of the dukes themselves from 1383) all regularly timbred their arms with a royal crown on their seals and monuments from 1394, none of them other than Jehan seems to have used any form of ducal coronet in the same way, and ducal arms set next to royal arms on objects made for them are often conspicuous by their lack of such a crown. (See *ibidem*, Pls. II, XII, ff.)

[140] See Twining, *European Regalia* (see n. 116), p. 145.

[141] See Cauchies, *Philippe le Beau* (see n. 59), Pl. 3, p. 27. It is not insignificant in this context that Philippe was sometimes referred to by his subjects not only as the 'Archduke of Austria' but as the 'Archduke of Burgundy' (*archiduc de Bour-*

was in fact set over the arms of Maximilian and his son Philippe the Hand-
some on their joint seal of 1487, replacing the crested helm that had for-
merly been set in that position.

Significantly, the effigy of Marie, last Capetian ruler of Burgundy, also
wears an archducal rather than a ducal coronet on her tomb in Notre Dame
de Bruges, constructed in 1491-1498, indicating the formal superiority of
her marital status as archduchess of Austria over her personal dignity as
duchess of Burgundy. Equally significantly, the effigy of her father Charles
'the Rash' on the float representing the predecessors of the Emperor
Maximilian engraved for him by Hans Burgkmaier and others early in the
sixteenth century is unique on its float in wearing a fashionable hat rather
than either a crown or a ducal cap,[142] for this suggests that even at a time
when these forms of headgear were coming into general use in Germany, it
was not thought appropriate to assign one to the last of the Valois dukes.
Only on the achievement-banner representing Burgundy in the triumph is a
ducal bonnet represented, and this is set on the head of the personifying
supporter.[143] The practice of setting a ducal cap over the arms of the duchy
of Burgundy as such seems to have begun early in the next century, as the
display of the arms of the Emperor Maximilian on his engraved arch of
1512 to 1515 indicates.[144] (See Fig. 12a.) On the central panel to the right,
below the arms of twenty-four Spanish kingdoms, were set the arms of
Maximilian's non-Austrian principalities, beginning with the Duchies of
Burgundy, Lothier, Brabant, Limburg, and Luxemburg, all surmounted with
ducal caps, which in this setting were actually restricted to dominions of
ducal rank. Not coincidentally, Duke Charles 'the Rash' was represented
wearing a ducal cap of exactly the same type in the tomb-effigy cast by
Jacobus Jonghelinc for the Church of Notre Dame in Bruges in the same
period.[145]

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goingne); this form of his Burgundian title appears in the text affixed to the armorial
panels of two disgraced knights by order of the assembled companions in 1501. See
the contribution by Sterchi in this volume.

[142] See The Triumph of Maximilian I, ed. Appelbaum (see n. 86), p. 110. It is worth
noting that the duke is also depicted with a shield bearing the arms of the duchy of
Burgundy alone, rather than the quarterly coat he actually used.

[143] Ibidem, p. 80. Since the personifications of all of the principalities below the
rank of archduchy wear the same kind of cap, however, it would appear to represent
princely rather than ducal status in this context.

[144] See Maximilian's Triumphal Arch (see n. 86), Pls. 25 and 26. The artists who
prepared the arch under Maximilian's direction also set ducal caps on the heads of
all of Maximilian's ancestors who had been dukes, just as they set royal crowns on
those who had been kings, and imperial crowns on those who had been emperors.
See, for example, Pls. 5, 11, 18, and 27.

[145] A photograph of the effigy showing the cap is reproduced in De Gruben, Les
chapitres (see n. 12), p. 384, Ill. 57.

By contrast, in a painted triptych of similar composition dating from about the year 1516,[146] (whose form I shall examine along with Maximilian's Arch in the next subsection), the arms of all of the duchies belonging to his grandson Charles are surmounted, not with ducal caps, but with coronets of a type quite recently adopted by the heralds of the Low Countries for princes and principalities of that rank: a circlet of the traditional type, heightened with large pearls, with a pyramid formed of three pearls in a triangle set front and centre, over the nose of the wearer. Furthermore, for the first time to my knowledge the shields of the counties are also ensigned with coronets, of the same general form as the ducal coronets, but lacking the pyramids. The formerly Burgundian duchies and counties are all thus ensigned, but this would not become a regular practice for more than two centuries. Another version of the new ducal coronet, with all of the pearls grouped into pyramids of three (seven of which are visible) is represented over the arms of the last two Valois dukes (both surrounded by the collar of their order) in a wood-engraving of 1518 showing the succession of the counts of Holland.[147] (See Fig. 12b.) Coronets of precisely this form are also set over the arms of the five regional duchies of Charles V (Burgundy, Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg, and Guelders) on his great seal for the Low Countries, clearly contrasted to the archducal coronet and cap set over the arms of Austria.[148] The competition between such Netherlandish coronets and the much older Germanic caps would continue though most of the seventeenth century, but one or the other would normally replace the crest of the Burgundian arms and their components.[149]

It might be asked at this point why the failure of the Burgundian dukes to adopt the armorial use of either a French circlet or an imperial cap to represent their ducal dignity before 1512 is of sufficient significance in the present context to justify so lengthy a discussion. My answer to that question would be that this failure not only deprived the dukes of what

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[146] This triptych is now preserved in the Musée de Malines in Belgium. A monochromatic photograph of it is reproduced in Stalins, *Briquet héraldique* (see n. 34), p. 133, Fig. 99.

[147] See Jacob Cornelisz van Oostzanen, *De Graven en Gravinnen van Holland* (Amsterdam, 1518), Pl. 8, 'Willem VI en Jacoba van Beieren, Philips de Goede en Karel de Stoute', published in *Vorstenportretten uit de eerste helft van de 16de eeuw: Houtsneden als propaganda*, eds. D. de Hoop Scheffer, A. J. Klant-Vlielander Hein (catalogue of an exhibition in the Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, 16 Aug. – 29 Oct. 1972), Cat. 30, p. 74, Pl. II.

[148] Stalins, *Briquet héraldique* (see n. 34), p. 157, Fig. 141.

[149] For example, on the great seal of the Emperor Leopold I von Habsburg, probably cut at his accession in 1658, the shield of Austria is surmounted by an archducal coronet, while those of the duchy of Burgundy and the counties of Flanders and Tyrol are surmounted by what had been ducal caps. (Cast of seal in private collection of the author.)

could have been a very powerful sign of their superiority to other dukes (the role very effectively played by the 'archducal' coronet of the Habsburgs of Austria from at least 1450), but obliged them to use the collar of their order as the most important insigne of their quasi-regal status. Precisely why, when they actually possessed and wore a ducal circlet, they declined to display it armorially is unclear, but by the early 1450s Duke Philippe 'the Good' had clearly made a decision not to follow the examples of various other sovereign dukes in including a circlet in his armorial achievement, and to continue to rely on the emblem of his order as the mark of his distinction. It may be that he and his son felt so superior to the other dukes that they disdained a sign that would merely have indicated their equality with them, and preferred to display a sign of their unique identity as the sovereign of the most distinguished order of knighthood on the continent, and as such the social equal of kings. It is not insignificant in this regard that the kings of Latin Christendom began to display the collars of their orders in the Burgundian fashion long before the Burgundian dukes began to display a coronet or cap in the manner of kings. Nor is it without interest that even Charles V – who as we have seen made use on occasion of the new ducal coronet – set the arms of Burgundy on one of his early seals as emperor below the crowned imperial arms, marked only by the collar of the Golden Fleece.[150]

## 4.3. The Different Levels of the Ducal Achievement and their Use

By the time of the foundation of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the armorial achievement used by the duke of Burgundy, like those used by most other princes, could take any of several forms, which on the basis of the number and identity of the elements they included may be designated 'levels'.[151] The shield of arms surmounted by the helmet with lambrequin, torse, and crest was the oldest as well as the simplest of these levels, having taken form around the year 1300, and may therefore be termed the 'basic (emblematic) achievement'. The addition from about 1430 of the collar of the Order – usually accompanied by a motto and sometimes by a *cri-de-guerre* (and in the sixteenth century by the cross of St Andrew set behind the shield) – created a second level that may be described as the 'middle (emblematic) achievement'. The further addition not long thereafter of one or more lions or gryphons as supporters created a third level, which may be described as the 'great achievement'. Under the Habsburg dukes, the re-

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[150] Stalins, *Briquet héraldique* (see n. 34), p. 157, Fig. 142.

[151] These distinctions and terms are not contemporary, but creations of German heraldists of the seventeenth century. They are nevertheless useful for conceptualizing and describing the armorial usages of earlier periods, and I have adopted and further systematized them for my own use.

placement of the helmet-complex of the basic emblematic achievement with a crown, coronet, or cap produced what may be termed the 'basic insignial achievement', and the addition to this composition of the collar of the Order produced what may be termed the 'middle insignial achievement'. As we have just seen, neither of the last two types is known to have been employed in the Burgundian domain before 1487, and they remained rare before the 1520s. Later in the sixteenth century, however, the middle insignial achievement would become the level used in the greatest variety of settings, including flags, where it would replace the arms displayed alone and throughout the field.

The basic emblematic achievement was the only form used down to 1430, at which time it was largely replaced by newer forms. Nevertheless, it continued to be displayed on occasion under the Valois dukes, at least: for example, on the counterseal of Charles 'the Rash' for the Court of Brabant in 1472.[152] The basic insignial achievement was employed primarily when the design had to be represented on a small scale and in a series. For example, it was the form used for all of the achievements in the great collar of the Order's kings of arms, made about 1530.[153] Under the Habsburgs, however, an insignial achievement of the same level – a shield of some version of the ducal arms surmounted by a coronet or crown but lacking the collar – was much more common, appearing among other places on the seals of Philippe 'the Handsome' as king of Castile and on those of his son Charles as prince.[154]

It was the middle level of the emblematic achievement that seems to have been the one most commonly used under the Valois dukes after its establishment in 1430. It was often set on the 'cloth of estate' that was suspended over the ducal throne,[155] placed in the centre of tapestries,[156]

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[152] Stalins, *Briquet héraldique* (see n. 34), p. 152, Fig. 131b.

[153] Now preserved in the Vienna in the Kunsthistorisches Musem, and reproduced in full colour in Lecat, *Le siècle* (see n. 43), p. 137.

[154] A basic insignial achievement bearing the arms of Upper Austria ensigned with an archducal coronet was represented on the equestrial seal of the former for his Court of Brabant, and another with the great arms of his four inheritances ensigned with a royal crown was set on the great seal of majesty of the former cut in 1506, placed before the legs of the sovereign in a novel manner. Another with the same arms but the archducal coronet was set on the equestrian face of the great seal of his son Charles as prince of Spain. See Stalins, *Briquet héraldique* (see n. 34), pp. 153-156, Figs. 135, 136, 140.

[155] P. Cockshaw, 'La présence de l'ordre de la Toison d'or ou de ses symboles dans les monnaies', in: Van den Bergen-Pantens, *L'Ordre de la Toison d'or* (see n. 12), p. 12, Pl. 4.

[156] For example, on a tapestry now preserved as part of the Burgundian booty in Berne. See Stalins, *Briquet héraldique* (see n. 34), p. 120, Fig. 81; Matile, *Die Burgunderbeute* (see n. 58), pp. 206-209, Abb. 204-206.

represented in ducal manuscripts floating over the duke[157] or in the outer[158] or lower margin,[159] set within the first historiated capital in manuscripts of the statutes of the Order,[160] and painted on the capitular panels of the dukes.[161] Under the Habsburg dukes it was almost entirely superseded by its insignial equivalent, with a coronet replacing the helmet-complex. This type of achievement was represented in many places, including the central panel of Maximilian's triumphal arch,[162] the seal of Maximilian as regent for his grandson Charles from 1508 to 1514, the first seal of Charles as prince of Spain cut in 1515, and above the majesty effigy on Charles' great seal for the Low Countries.[163] (See Fig. 9.)

The great achievement was used less frequently in similar settings, and was set on the privy seal of Philippe 'the Good',[164] on the secret seal of his son Charles 'the Rash',[165] on one of the lesser seals of Philippe 'the Handsome' (with a royal crown in place of the crested helm),[166] and later on the great seals of the emperors. (See Figs. 6-9.) In fact, it was employed with increasing frequency under the Habsburg dukes, in keeping with a very general trend in heraldic fashion of the later fifteenth and early sixteenth century.

In practice, from quite early in the history of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the dukes were also represented by what is best termed an 'extended achievement', in which the arms of the various ducal dominions not represented on the central shield were marshalled externally rather than internally: that is, they were set on separate shields arranged around the normal achievement. In practice they were normally arranged in a more or less clearly-delimited rectangular or circular frame either around the great achievement itself (the 'scutocentric' type), or to either side of the middle achievement set above a portrait of the duke in majesty (the 'effigicentric' form).[167]

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[157] Stalins, *Briquet héraldique* (see n. 34), p. 7, Pl. 15.
[158] *Ibidem*, p. 99, Fig. 1.
[159] *Ibidem*, p. 5, Pl. 13.
[160] *Ibidem*, p. 31, Fig. 1; p. 41, Fig. 1.
[161] All of the achievements painted on the panels prepared for all of the Assemblies of the Order took the form of middle achievements. For a set of such panels, see H. Rottier and M. van De Cruys, *Heraldiek: Wapens kennen en herkennen* (Leuven, 2004), p. 99.
[162] *Maximilian's Triumphal Arch* (see n. 86), Pl. 28.
[163] Stalins, *Briquet héraldique* (see n. 34), pp. 155-157, Figs. 138, 139, and 141.
[164] *Ibidem*, p. 151, Fig. 127.
[165] *Ibidem*, p. 151, Fig. 128, and Cockshaw, 'La présence de l'ordre de la Toison d'or' (see n. 155), p. 27, Fig. 4.
[166] Stalins, *Briquet héraldique* (see n. 34), p. 154, Fig. 137.
[167] These terms are my own inventions. On the subject of marshalling territorial arms in France, see D'A. J. D. Boulton, 'Dynasties, Domains, and Dominions: The

The most famous example of a scutocentric extended achievement is the bookplate referred to above (and reproduced as Fig. 11), engraved for Charles 'the Rash' by the anonymous master known as W. A. at an unknown date between 1465 and 1477.[168] A looser sort of extended achievement was engraved by Dürer for Maximilian, consisting of five shields bearing the arms of the kingship of the Romans, the kingdom of Hungary, the archduchy of Austria, the duchy of Burgundy, and the princely county of Tyrol, all arranged in a cross, the first three crowned and the fourth surmounted by the flint-and-firesteel enfiling a saltire of two plain sticks. The whole set of crowned shields is surrounded by a giant collar of the Order.[169]

The extended achievement surrounding a portrait of the duke seems to have been more common than the scutocentric form throughout the period with which we are concerned. Under the Valois dukes, the portrait normally formed part of a presentation scene set in the ducal presence chamber, which itself constituted a full- or half-page miniature at the beginning of a text. In these cases the middle achievement was normally set at the top of the page and the shields with the arms of the dominions (usually including the four actually incorporated on the ducal shield, and sometimes including the purely dynastic arms called 'Burgundy modern' or *issu de France*) were arranged around the whole page in the other margins, with the most important near the top and the least important at the bottom. The number of shields varies from example to example, but fourteen[170] and sixteen are the most common numbers under Philippe 'the Good'. In one manuscript with the latter number, the shields bear, in pairs from top to bottom, the following coats: (1) issue of France – (2) issue of France, (3) duchy of Burgundy – (4) duchy of Lotharingia or Lothier; (5) duchy of Brabant – (6) duchy of Limburg; (7) county of Flanders – (8) county of Artois; (9) county palatine of Burgundy – (10) county of Hainault; (11) county of Holland – (12) county of Zeeland; (13) lordship of Salins – (14) lordship of Malines.[171] The shields in such settings were sometimes associated with similar arrangements of ducal badges, but they were never crowned before the sixteenth century, when as we have seen the use of iconic crowns was introduced by the Habsburg dukes.

Under the latter, the number of shields included in the extended achievement also grew steadily, and Maximilian had represented on his famous

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Use and Non-use of Territorial Arms by French Princes, c. 1200-c. 1500', in: *Académie Internationale d'Héraldique, VIII Colloquium, Canterbury, 29th August-4th September 1993, Proceedings*, ed. C. R. Humphery-Smith (Canterbury, 1995), pp. 39-74.
[168] Pinoteau, *Héraldique capétienne* (see n. 85), pp. 85 and 93, n. 28.
[169] Kurth, *The Complete Woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer* (see n. 60), Pl. 129.
[170] Cockshaw, 'La présence de l'ordre de la Toison d'or' (see n. 155), p. 9, Pl. 1.
[171] *Ibidem*, p. 191, Fig. 4.

engraved triumphal arch the arms of no fewer than thirty-one kingdoms (all crowned), one archduchy (with an archducal crown), thirteen duchies (all with bonnets), and forty-seven counties and lesser dominions, all arranged in two long columns, three shields wide and nineteen deep.[172] A simpler but essentially similar achievement was painted in the form of a triptych for his grandson Charles V, shortly before he succeeded Maximilian as emperor in 1419.[173] In this, the larger central panel is mainly occupied by a large roundel bearing a majesty-portrait of the young king within a circular frame bearing crowned shields of the arms of his nineteen most important kingdoms, surmounted with his personal quarterly coat crowned and surrounded by the collar of the Golden Fleece. At the base is a large tablet bearing his complete titulature, corresponding to the arms on the shields. In the spandrels are set the middle achievements of his grandparents – Maximilian and his wife Marie, duchess of Burgundy, Ferran 'the Catholic' of Aragon and his wife Isabel 'the Catholic' of Castile – and the dexter side is also decorated with the paraheraldic emblems of Burgundy I shall describe in the next section. On the two side-panels are painted shields of the arms of his three remaining kingdoms and thirty-nine of his lesser dominions, including all of his duchies and counties, marked like the kingdoms with distinctive crowns.

A much simpler version of this general arrangement had already appeared on the great seal of Charles' father, Philippe 'the Handsome', as king of Castile, used in 1505-1506,[174] and on some of the seals he used himself, before and after he became emperor of the Romans in 1519. On Charles' first seal as 'Prince of Spain', his personal arms surrounded by a collar of the Golden Fleece and surmounted by an archducal coronet are surrounded by six shields bearing the arms of formerly Burgundian principalities;[175] on an equestrian seal of the same period, a large personal shield with a more normal set of quarterings stands at the head of a series of nineteen smaller shields set around the portrait, bearing the arms of the Austrian and Burgundian principalities in general order of rank.[176] The latter type of arrangement, but with a great achievement in the centre in place of the portrait, would persist on imperial great seals through the seventeenth century.[177]

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[172] *Maximilian's Triumphal Arch* (see n. 87), Pll. 25, 26.
[173] Stalins, *Briquet héraldique* (see n. 34), Fig. 99. This is now in the Musée de Malines.
[174] *Ibidem*, p. 154, Fig. 136.
[175] *Ibidem*, p. 156, Fig. 139.
[176] *Ibidem*, p. 156, Fig. 140.
[177] On the great seal of the Emperor Leopold I, for example (cited above at n. 136), the central field is occupied by the great insignial achievement, with the collar of the Golden Fleece surrounding the strapwork cartouche that surrounds the shield proper. Around this, on an annulus, are set shield bearing the arms of the six principal

In the present context the chief interest of this manner of displaying the armorial bearings of the dukes is that it permitted the representation of the principal emblems of all of the elements of the ducal domain in a single design, associated with the personal arms and often the portrait of the current duke, and almost always with the insignia of the Golden Fleece and other, closely related emblems of the paraheraldic family. This not only permitted the viewer to see the full extent of the ducal domain, but encouraged him to see it as a unit bound by the lordship of the duke, and if he was a ducal subject, to see his own principality as an integral part of the emergent Burgundian commonwealth. The identity of the Burgundian domain as such was soon lost in the extended achievements of the Habsburgs, who tended to sort their dominions first by *rank* and only then by *geographical* and *historical* relationships. Nevertheless, it would not be forgotten in the part of the Burgundian domain made up of the Low Countries, where as we shall see in Stein's essay in the present volume,[178] very similar images and lists of constituent members would play an important role in the propaganda and self-conception of the rebels against Felipe II of Spain in the later sixteenth century.

## 5. The Paraheraldic Emblems of the Dukes

In addition to the members of the growing family of heraldic or armorial signs just described, from about 1360 the princes and barons of the central regions of Latin Christendom made increasing use of emblems of an essentially new family to which the name 'paraheraldic' has recently been assigned by heraldists: a name indicative at once of the initial independence of its members from the authority (and even the interest) of the heralds, of the fact that it was only gradually subjected to anything like the rules governing heraldic emblems, and of the fact that all of the emblems of this new family were nevertheless commonly displayed in close association with those of the established heraldic family, so that some of them were ultimately absorbed into the armorial achievement and subjected to the rules of heraldry.[179]

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kingdoms of the Imperial-Austrian line of the Habsburgs, followed by the arms of Austria and Burgundy, and then those of Flanders and Tyrol.

[178] See Rob Stein, 'Seventeen', in the present volume.

[179] For more extensive discussions of paraheraldic emblems in this period, see D'A. J. D. Boulton, 'Insignia of Power: The Use of Heraldic and Para-Heraldic Devices by Italian Princes, *c.* 1350-1500,' in: C. M. Rosenberg, ed., *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy, 1250-1500* (Notre Dame/London, 1990), pp. 103-127. See also J. Evans, *Pattern: A Study of Ornament in Western Europe from 1180 to 1900*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 1931; repr. 1976), pp. 94-113; B. Palisser, *Historic Devices, Badges, and War-Cries* (London, 1870; repr. Detroit, 1971); A. C. Fox-

The pre-modern or classic species of paraheraldic emblem fell into the three classes I have called (1) patronal emblems, (2) livery-emblems, and (3) individual emblems. Patronal emblems generally took the form either of an effigy of the patron saint of the emblematiger (or owner of the emblem), or of one of the attributes used to distinguish that saint from other saints. The most common form of attribute used as a patronal emblem was a cross of a particular form and colour, often set on a field of a particular colour in what may be termed an 'armiform' design.

What I have called 'livery-emblems' and 'personal emblems' could take any of several forms: (1) that of a set of 'livery-colours', ranging in number from one to about five, selected from the same set used in heraldic emblems plus a few additional ones, and usually arranged in panels or stripes; (2) that of a 'badge', or figure comparable to those used in arms as 'charges', but more commonly represented in natural colours, and lacking any specification of their posture or orientation; (3) that of a 'motto', or short and often cryptic statement indicative of some virtue, attitude, or intention of the emblematiger, represented in decorative letters either directly against a background of the livery-colours or set on a scroll of some shape; (4) that of a letter or pair of letters representing (a) the name of the emblematiger's principal dominion, (b) the personal name of the emblematiger, (c) the name of his wife or mistress, or (d) the words of a cryptic motto; (5) that of a 'device', or combination of a figure and a motto that is formally associated with it in some way, and may or may not explain the symbolism of the figure. When the motto was related to the badge in the latter way, it may be called an 'impresa'.[180]

All five of these types of emblem were commonly used as livery-emblems. The latter name reflects the fact that they were usually associated with the uniform or 'livery' distributed (*livree*) by princes and great lords to all of their servants and retainers at least once a year. While those paraheraldic emblems I have called 'individual' were comparable to armorial ones in being worn only by the emblematiger himself, livery-emblems were

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Davies, *Heraldic Badges* (London, 1907); H. S. London, *Royal Beasts* (London, 1958); C. Beaune, 'Costume et Pouvoir en France à la fin du Moyen Âge', in: *Revue des sciences humaines* 183 (1981), pp. 125-146; M. Pastoureau, 'Aux origines de l'emblème: La crise d'héraldique européenne aux XVe et XVIe siècles', in: M.-T. Jones-Davies, ed., *Emblèmes et devises au temps de la Renaissance* (Paris, 1981); reprinted in: *idem, L'Hermine et le sinople: Études d'héraldique médiévale* (Paris, 1982), pp. 327-333. De Mérindol, *Le roi René* (see n. 115); and B. Andenmatten, A. Paravicini Bagliani, and A. Vadon, eds., *Héraldique et emblématique de la Maison de Savoie (XIe-XVIe s.)* (Lausanne, 1994).

[180] It should be noted that all of these distinctions are modern, and that contemporaries commonly used words of the 'devise' family (especially the French *devise*) to designate all four types of livery-emblem.

all essentially marks of *affiliation*, and although they belonged and referred to the lord who assumed them, they were actually *worn* primarily by members of what historians now call the lord's 'affinity'. In this category were included all of his household servants of all ranks (some of whom might be nobles with great households of their own), all of his indentured or paid retainers, all of his honorary or unpaid retainers, and all of his allies among the nobility who acknowledged his political leadership. In keeping with contemporary views on social hierarchy and its expression, both the *type* and the *quality* of the emblems distributed by lords to such dependents and allies varied significantly with the rank of the dependent, and those of the highest rank might receive emblems that were either in fact or in theory the insignia of an 'order' of knights of which the lord was the hereditary president and to which senior officers and allies could be admitted as members. I have called such unincorporated bodies of knights and nobles 'pseudo-orders', and their emblems may be described as pseudo-ordinal.

In the present context it is of course important to note first that most of the signs used by the dukes of Burgundy to promote the unity of their state were forms of livery-emblem, and second that the insignia of an order of knighthood like the Golden Fleece constituted a special form of livery-emblem, representative of membership in an inner group of retainers and allies. In effect, all livery-emblems represented at once the *identity* of their owner and the *status* of their wearers or *emblematifers* as subordinates of one sort or another of the emblematiger, and thus functioned as insignial as well as emblematic signs. In the case of the insignia of the Golden Fleece, the collar actually incorporated a pre-existing livery-emblem (the flint-and-firesteel) as well as one peculiar to the order (the fleece).

It must also be noted here that all of the phenomena used as emblems in the paraheraldic system could and frequently did bear a secondary *symbolic* sense: that is to say, they could represent one or more general ideas with which the emblematiger wished to be associated, or one or more character-istics the emblematiger wished to claim other than his distinctive identity and legal status. This seems to have been true of all of the paraheraldic emblems assumed by the dukes of Burgundy, and as I hope to demonstrate, most of the symbolic senses attributed to their emblems were calculated to support some aspect of the dukes' ideology.

## 5.1. The Effigy of St Andrew, Patron Saint of Burgundy

In fact, the dukes of Burgundy made use of paraheraldic insignia of all of the types just identified. After the arms of the duchy of Burgundy proper, which dated from the later twelfth century, the oldest of the ducal emblems seems to have been the effigy of St Andrew, the patron saint of the duchy. Andrew had been the peculiar patron of the Burgundian dukes and dynasty since at least 1172, when the chapel in the ducal chapel at Dijon had been

built to his honour, and endowed with important relics of the saint.[181] From
that time the war-cry of the dukes had been *Montjoie saint Andrieu*, and
after 1430 this became the war-cry of the Order.[182] Not content with the
mere possession of these relics, the first Valois duke seems to have commis-
sioned or encouraged the composition of a legend that made Andrew the
Apostle of the Burgundian nation.[183] According to this new legend, Andrew
had evangelized the whole region of Scythia, which an older legend had
made the original homeland of the Burgundians. This made Andrew a much
more powerful symbol of Burgundian nationhood, not only in the duchy
proper but in the whole kingdom of Burgundy or Arles from which it had
been carved. It also made him a potential symbol of the national character
of the new Burgundian nation that the Valois dukes attempted to create out
of their more northerly domain – though not, perhaps, of the revived
kingdom of Lotharingia or of the new kingdom of Brabant that were among
the states projected for the Valois dukes.

Certainly the new legend was taken up along with the old by most of the
historians and chroniclers of the fifteenth century, and as we have seen, the
effigy of the saint was clearly associated with the dukes in their more
general role, especially after the foundation of the domanial Order placed
under his patronage. We have already noted his prominent place on the
votive plaque cited above; among other examples of contexts in which St
Andrew is associated with a duke are a breviary made for Philippe 'the
Good' around 1455, which includes a miniature representing him wearing
the collar of the Order and praying before the saint,[184] and a manuscript of
the *Vie et Miracles de Notre Dame*, which contains a miniature depicting
the same duke being presented to the Blessed Virgin by St Andrew holding
his cross and St Philip (his name-saint) holding a processional cross.[185]
From 1443 in Luxemburg, and from 1466 in the Burgundian domain
generally, an effigy of the national saint was set on the reverse of the ducal
florin, replacing that of St John the Baptist traditionally set there,[186] and in
the same period the effigy was set on the obverse of a ducal jeton, whose
reverse bore the fleece suspended from two large firesteels.[187] Andrew's

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[181]  See Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), p. 370.
[182]  Pastoureau, 'Emblèmes et symboles' (see n. 32), pp. 99-106, esp. pp. 100-101.
[183]  *Ibidem*, p. 100.
[184]  Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, ms. 9511, fol. 398r; published in De
Gruben, *Les chapitres* (see n. 12), p. 5, ill. 2.
[185]  Published in Lecat, *Le siècle* (see n. 43), p. 133.
[186]  See Cockshaw, 'La présence de l'ordre de la Toison d'or' (see n. 155), p. 163, n.
3. Cockshaw notes that this, and a flint-and-firesteel used as a stop in the text, are
the only emblems associated with the Order that appear on the Burgundian coinage,
which in general was extremely conservative in design throughout the Valois period.
[187]  See Smolderen, 'Médailles et jetons' (see n. 61), p. 180.

effigy was also represented (along with those of other saints, to be sure) on the livery standards and guidons of Charles 'the Rash', a number of which have been preserved as part of the Burgundian booty taken back to Bern by the Swiss forces who defeated his armies in a series of battles between August 1475 and his death in January 1477, especially Grandson and Murten.[188]

*5.2. The Saltire-Cross of St Andrew*

Although the saint himself was thus represented fairly frequently in emblematic contexts, by far the most important emblem of St Andrew and his patronage employed by the Valois dukes and their successors was the saltire-cross that had come to be his principal attribute in all representations, including those just cited. The legend that Andrew had been crucified on such a cross cannot be traced before the thirteenth century (when many saints were first provided with visual attributes for iconographic purposes), but was soon canonized by its inclusion in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacques de Voragine, compiled between 1255 and 1266.[189] Thereafter Andrew was rarely represented in the Latin West without his distinctive cross. Nevertheless, the regular use of the saltire cross as an emblem by the dukes of Burgundy seems to have begun only during the civil war of the first decades of the fifteenth century, when it soon came to serve as the principal emblem of the whole Burgundian faction. In 1411, for example, 100,000 Parisians are said to have begun wearing the Burgundian badge of a 'St Andrew's cross', with an inescutcheon (or small shield) in the middle of the cross bearing a fleur-de-lys'.[190]

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[188] See Matile, *Die Burgunderbeute* (see n. 58), p. 104, Abb. 46; p. 120, Abb. 70. The same types of livery-flag, however, also bear the images of a whole series of saints other than Andrew, including most of the other apostles.

[189] On Saint Andrew and his legend, see P. M. Peterson, *Andrew, Brother of Simon Peter: His History and His Legends*, Supplements to *Novum Testamentum* 1 (Leiden, 1958).

[190] See Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (see n. 3), pp. 279-280, citing J. Shirley, transl., *A Parisian Journal 1405-1449, translated from the Anonymous Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* (Oxford, 1968), p. 56, cf. p. 239, and the histories of Enguerrand de Monstrelet and Jehan Juvenal des Ursins, cited in V. Gay, *Glossaire archéologique du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1887-1928), vol. 1, under 'enseigne'. At least one exemplar of the party-badge has been preserved and is now in Paris in the Musée de Cluny; a photograph of it appears in Lecat, *Le siècle* (see n. 43), p. 25. It took the form of a flat, quasi-rectangular, bouched targe, with the words *vive le roy* in gothic characters set respectively in the upper three segments of the field, and a vine-scroll diapered in the base segment.

In this form the cross was used at first in opposition to the dolphin badge[191] and sash of the Armagnac faction, and later to the white cross used at first by that faction, and then from 1422 by the Valois and Bourbon kings of France as an emblem of the new national patron, St Michael the Archangel.[192] As the kings of England had made regular use of the red cross of St George since the later thirteenth century, and had canonized it by adopting it as part of the badge of the Order of the Garter in 1348/9, the use of similar crosses in similar ways by the neighbouring kings of Scotland from 1388[193] and of France from 1355 (when it had yet to be associated with a patron) had almost certainly been inspired by the English custom that culminated in the primatial proclamation following the Battle of Agincourt in 1415 that thenceforth the feast of St George on 23 April would be celebrated throughout England with the same level of solemnity as Christmas.[194]

The Burgundian treatment of the cross of St Andrew no doubt imitated all of these models, but only in a general way. In the first place, while the saltire of St Andrew formally adopted by the king of Scots in 1388 was white on a blue field (possibly alluding to the French cross of St Michael),

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[191] Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (see n. 3), p. 280, with the same citations as the Burgundian badge given in n. 36 above.

[192] Pastoureau, 'Emblèmes et symboles' (see n. 32), p. 103, attributes the white cross to the Armagnacs, but according to Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology* (see n. 4), p. 165, the Armagnacs used a sash, and this was renounced by the dauphin in 1422 in favour of the white cross 'the true and ancient insigne of the kings of France'. According to Beaune, the white sash had itself been adopted as a military emblem of the kings of France in 1304, and had been replaced in the same context by a white cross, clearly answering the red cross of St George, in 1355. This purely secular cross had gradually come to be identified with the white cross frequently displayed on the shield of the Archangel Michael from the early fourteenth century, especially in Coutances near his sanctuary. By 1400 pilgrims to that shrine were given white crosses to wear as souvenirs. The royal cult of the Archangel had begun in earnest only in 1393, by which time the image of St Michael had come to be assimilated very largely to that of St George. It was no doubt for this reason that the Dauphin Charles adopted St Michael as his personal patron in 1418, when he was only fourteen, and used his newly militarized effigy on all of his standards to 1440. See Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology* (see n. 4), p. 158.

[193] Statute of 1388, Acts, I, 555, cited in T. Innes of Learney, *Scots Heraldry* (Edinburgh, 1956), p. 217, n. 3. The cult of St Andrew as a national patron began in Scotland very early, supposedly under Angus II around 750. See W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1876), pp. 296-299. The cross of St Andrew first appears in the official emblematics of the kings of Scots under the first Stewart king, Robert II (1374-1391), and his son Robert III had an effigy of the saint crucified on a saltire set on his five shilling coin, the gold lion, struck from 1390-1403. See D. Bateson, *Scottish Coins* (Aylesbury, Bucks., 1987), p. 7.

[194] Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology* (see n. 4), p. 164.

that of the Burgundians, like the English cross of St George, was normally red, and was normally set on a white field (though sometimes these colours were reversed). Not insignificantly, red – the field-tincture of the English arms but only a minor tincture in those of Burgundy – was the colour later assigned to the mantle of the Order placed under the patronage of St Andrew in Burgundy, and became in effect the principal emblematic colour of the Burgundian state.

In addition, unlike its analogues in England, Scotland, and France, which were always represented as *heraldic* crosses, in what I have called 'armal' or 'armiform' designs,[195] the cross of St Andrew used by the dukes of Burgundy could take any of nine heraldically different forms, some with and some without a field: (1) that of a normal heraldic saltire, a geometrical 'ordinary' with straight arms emerging from the corners of a shield or flag with a white field;[196] (2) that of a couped heraldic saltire, with its four straight arms terminating in square ends often remote from the corners of the field;[197] (3) that of a similar figure formed of two planks of wood crossed at the centre, which like the remaining forms did not require a field;[198] (4) that of a couped saltire raguly;[199] (5) that of a similar figure formed from a pair of tree-trunks, probably alluding to the badge of the golden tree adopted by Philippe 'the Bold' shortly after the battle of Nicopolis of 1396 and again by his son Jehan 'the Fearless' in 1406;[200] (6) that of similar figure formed from a pair of thin smooth branches,[201] their minor branches shaved down in allusion both to the Orléanist badge of a

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[195] By the term 'armal' I mean 'pertaining to or having the nature of a coat of arms in the technical sense (i.e., the emblematic design most commonly displayed covering the surface of a shield)'; by 'armiform' I mean 'having a form exactly resembling that of a coat of arms, without necessarily enjoying the status of such an emblem'. The crosses of St George and St Andrew in Britain were almost always used as part of armiform designs, and these designs came to be thought of as constituting the attributed arms of the saints themselves, while at the same time serving as badges of the kings of England and Scotland.

[196] For the cross in the form of a normal saltire, see Matile, *Die Burgunderbeute* (see n. 58), Abb. 34, 100, 186, 187.

[197] For the cross in the form of a couped saltire, see *ibidem*, Abb. 10, 55, 56.

[198] For the cross in the form of a saltire composed of planks, see *ibidem*, Abb. 29, 81, 91.

[199] See *ibidem*, p. 101, Abb. 80; the cross is white and the field is apparently red.

[200] For the cross in the form of a saltire composed of tree-trunks, see *ibidem*, Abb. 2 and 23. The golden tree had in fact been adopted as an element of the insignia an order projected in different forms by the first two Valois dukes, and the use of a cross made of trees in association with the insignia of the Golden Fleece thus tied that order to its predecessors and the whole chivalric tradition of the dynasty.

[201] For the cross in the form of a saltire composed of thin smooth branches, see Matile, *Die Burgunderbeute* (see n. 58), p. 92, Abb. 30; p. 129, Abb. 91, 92; p. 133, Abb. 104.

single ragged staff, and to the Burgundian counter-badge of a plane spewing shavings used until his death by the latter duke; (7) that of a similar figure formed by a pair of thin ragged branches;[202] (8) that of a similar figure formed from a pair of arrows, the points to the base;[203] and finally (9) that of a similar figure formed from two pairs of arrows.[204]

The cross in all of these different forms was sometime used alone, especially on flags and tents, but it was more commonly employed in some type of formal association with the other emblems associated with the Order of the Golden Fleece, especially those of the paraheraldic family. I shall discuss its associations with other badges in the remaining parts of this section, but it is worth noting here that it could be associated directly with the arms or one of the levels of the armorial achievement, especially the basic insignial achievement in which the shield of arms is otherwise accompanied only the collar and crown. At first, the cross (usually in the form of a pair of ragged staves) would be set below or beside the achieve- ment, but in the sixteenth century it became increasingly common to set it behind the achievement, as if it were the cross of an order of knighthood like that of the Hospital of St John. Eventually it became, like the collar of the Order, a standard element of the achievement of the kings of Spain, as well as one of their most important independent emblems.

*5.3. The Flint-and-Firesteel Badge*

In fact, the cross of St Andrew had already been associated from early in the dominate of Philippe 'the Good' with the livery-badge he had adopted at some time between his accession in 1419 and 1421 to succeed his father's badge of the plane spewing shavings:[205] that is, the flint-and-firesteel spew- ing flames or sparks, already noted as the basis of the collar of the Golden Fleece.[206] This badge – the fourth of the stable figural emblems of the

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[202] For the cross in the form of a saltire composed of thin ragged branches, see *ibidem*, p. 131, Abb. 99; p. 137, Abb. 134; pp. 155-156, Abb. 66-69.

[203] For the cross in the form of a saltire composed of one pair of arrows, see *ibidem*, p. 157, Abb. 70, 71; p. 130, Abb. 96; p. 131, Abb. 99; p. 147, Abb. 133, 135.

[204] For the cross in the form of a saltire composed of two pairs of arrows, see *ibidem*, p. 116, Abb. 61.

[205] The badge of the plane-and-shavings and the associated motto *Ich houd* (i.e. *Je le tiens*) were adopted by Jehan 'the Fearless' in 1405 as ripostes to the badge and motto just adopted by his cousin and rival Louis, duke of Orléans: a ragged staff explained by the words *Je l'envie*. Jehan distributed planes in vast numbers to his retainers and allies between that date and 1409, when he adopted a new badge in the form of a *niveau* or builder's square and level. See Lightbrown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery* (see n. 36), p. 200.

[206] On these emblems, see esp. Pastoureau, 'Emblèmes et symboles' (see n. 32), pp. 99-100, 102, 104.

Valois dukes in order of adoption – was obviously related to its predecessor in its general form and symbolic implications, but its emblematic significance was clarified through the use of firesteels in the shape of the cypher of Burgundy.[207] Although the fiery flint and firesteel were normally displayed together, the latter was sometimes detached from the former, and displayed either alone or surrounded by fiery sparks.[208] Pastoureau has argued that the sparks were initially intended to be a more aggressive symbol of ducal activity than the shavings of the abandoned plane – shavings that were not only of a similar form, but were also associated with starting fires.[209] The connection was itself made clear by the motto associated with the older badge, which I shall discuss below. Taken together, the fiery sparks, flint, and firesteel came to be seen as a symbol of the power of the later dukes, and of their policy of extending their authority in all directions.

Like the cross of St Andrew, the badge composed of the three elements just described was often displayed on ducal standards, tents, and tapestries from at least 1424, when the relevant accounts of Philippe's dominate begin,[210] and we know from the Burgundian booty in Bern that this practice continued at least to the death of Charles 'the Rash' in 1477.[211] It is likely that it was also distributed to the duke's principal retainers and household officers in the form of a brooch of gem-encrusted gold, of silver-gilt, or of silver, according to their rank, much as Jehan 'the Fearless' had done with his equivalent badge of the plane from 1405, and with his later badge of the carpenter's square and level from 1409.[212] Presumably it was worn in a textile form on the clothing of lesser servants, as is shown in two windows of the Sainte-Chapelle of Dijon.[213]

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[207] Pastoureau (*Grand armorial* (see n. 12), vol. 1, p. 57) points out that *fusil* is the only contemporary French name for the firesteel, the modern 'briquet' dating only from the eighteenth century. He also points out (*ibidem*, vol. 1, p. 55) the resemblance of the form of the *fusil* to the initial B of Bourgoingne.

[208] See *ibidem*, vol. 1, p. 57.

[209] See *ibidem*, vol. 1, p. 61.

[210] C. Lemaire, ' "…l'ordre de plus grand pois et mistère". Histoire d'un mythe et de ses possibles interprétations: un essai', in: Van den Bergen-Pantens, *L'Ordre de la Toison d'or* (see n. 12), p. 84.

[211] See Matile, *Die Burgunderbeute* (see n. 58), p. 125, Abb. 89-90; pp. 206 and 209, Abb. 204; Lecat, *Le siècle* (see n. 43), p. 131.

[212] On one day in May 1406, he gave out three hundred and fifteen, all of gold set with diamonds. In a later year, Jehan gave gem-studded gold badges to 80 senior officials, plain gold badges to 200 gentlemen of his household, and 300 silver badges to his lesser servants. See Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges* (see n. 3), pp. 279-280, citing J. Evans, *Dress in Medieval France* (Oxford, 1952), and Lightbrown, *Mediaeval European Jewellery* (see n. 36), p. 198; the latter discusses the expense of such distributions, p. 200.

[213] On these a single large badge was applied or embroidered on the upper sleeve of

The flint-and-firesteel badge may have been associated before the foundation of the Order in 1430 with the apparently explanatory motto *Ante ferit quam flamma micet*, thus forming part of a true impresa.[214] This motto was certainly employed by Jehan 'the Fearless' to explain the significance of his plane spewing shavings, but while it would have been equally appropriate for the new form of badge, and tied it in an ingenious way to its predecessor, there is apparently no evidence that it was ever used by Philippe 'the Good'.[215] In any case, after 1430 it appears that the badge was associated only with the current motto of the duke, which as we shall see always alluded to the Order rather than the badge. This was not, therefore, part of what is now called a 'device'.

Under Duke Philippe 'the Good', the flint-and-firesteel badge was frequently used alone as an emblem first of the duke himself and then, after 1430, of the duke and his new Order. This, at least, is the most reasonable interpretation of the inclusion of the badge on the field of Philippe's equestrian great seals from 1430[216] and on his coins from 1434[217] onwards, when it had never been set in either context before the foundation of the Order. Charles 'the Rash' even had the handles of the matrix of his privy seal made in the form of the finger-rings of the firesteel.[218] The practice of setting this badge on seals was maintained by all of his successors in my period, including the first three Habsburgs, and was applied to almost all of their seals, so that in this context alone the fiery flint-and-firesteel came to be treated as a major emblem of the Burgundian state. In most sigillary designs it was used, either singly or in pairs, without any overt association with the golden fleece, and occasionally (as on the counterseal of Maximilian and Marie for the Council of Flanders) it was used alone.[219] On occasion, however – as on the seal of Maximilian as king of the Romans in 1487 – a pair of firesteels and a single flint were made to stand for the collar of the Order.[220]

Before it was included in the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, the flint-and-steel badge had had no discernible association with the Jason legend that certainly inspired the Order and its distinctive badge. After 1430, however, Pastoureau has argued that two elements of its form were reconceived to connect them to that legend. In the first place, he believes

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a man in court-dress wearing a sword. See Stalins, *Briquet héraldique* (see n. 34), p. 180, Figs. 164, 165.

[214] Pastoureau, 'Emblèmes et symboles' (see n. 32), pp. 105-106.

[215] Lemaire, 'Histoire d'un mythe' (see n. 210), p. 85.

[216] Laurent, 'Les sceaux de l'ordre' (see n. 65), p. 24.

[217] Cockshaw, 'La présence de l'ordre de la Toison d'or' (see n. 155), p. 163.

[218] Matile, *Die Burgunderbeute* (see n. 58), p. 236, Abb. 230.

[219] Stalins, *Briquet héraldique* (see n. 34), p. 153, Fig. 133.

[220] *Ibidem*, p. 153. Fig. 154.

that the curled finger-rings of the B-shaped firesteel came to be seen as re-
flections of the similarly curled horns of the fleece. In the second place, he
believes that the fiery sparks of the badge came to be seen as representing
both the fire spat at the heroes by the monstrous bulls and the dragon
guarding the fleece, and also the fleece itself, whose golden tufts resembled
flames.[221]

That connections of this sort were made is at least suggested by the fact
that it was sometimes felt necessary to alter the form of the ducal badge
after 1430 to tie it to the Christian alternative to the Jason legend proposed
by the Order's first chancellor, Jehan Germain, at the meeting of its chapter
held in Lille in 1431.[222] The legend he proposed (far less appropriate for its
purpose) was that of the Jewish judge Gideon, who asked God to dampen a
fleece to reassure him of God's plans. Gideon never successfully replaced
Jason as the central figure of the Order's pseudo-historical inspiration, but
he did continue thereafter as a sort of typological double. In consequence,
the ducal badge was sometimes altered to allude to his legend by converting
the original (and always more common) sparks into drops of water. For
example, the whole collar of the Order is made to rain drops of water in the
upper margin of a presentation miniature of 1451, which depicts both
Gideon and Jason in the lateral margins.[223] Presumably Duke Philippe felt
that the addition of Gideon to Jason in this way would at least blunt any
attempt to assert that his Order was too strongly associated with a pagan
tradition: a potentially serious problem, given his claims to be the principal
defender of the Faith and Church.

When represented in textile environments, including tapestries, eccle-
siastical vestments, and livery-flags, the flames or drops were often shown
radiating outwards from the flint over a wide area, sometimes including the
whole surface of the field.[224] An early example of its use in this way is on
the horse-trapper of the equestrian figure of Philippe 'the Good' set on the
obverse of a monetiform medal of 1434.[225] (See Fig. 6b.) The flames in
particular were thus converted into minor emblems that could be used in the
same way as the kings of France used the fleurs-de-lys of their arms.[226]

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[221] See Pastoureau/Popoff, *Grand armorial* (see n. 12), vol. 2, pp. 55, 56, 58, 61.

[222] On Germain and the Gideon story, see G. Doutrepont, 'Jason et Gédéon, patrons
de la Toison d'or', in: *Mélanges Godefroy Kurth*, vol. 2 (Liège/Paris, 1908), pp.
191-208.

[223] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 12476; see A. van Buren-Hago-
pian, 'La Toison d'or dans les manuscrits de Philippe le Bon', in: Van den Bergen-
Pantens, *L'Ordre de la Toison d'or* (see n. 12), pp. 189-193, esp. p. 191, Fig. 4.

[224] For examples of the flint emitting flames or drops over a large area of textile, see
Matile, *Die Burgunderbeute* (see n. 58), p. 92, Abb. 30; p. 101, Abb. 40; pp. 103-
104, Abb. 44-47; p. 124, Abb. 79; p. 125, Abb. 84; pp. 220-221, Abb. 215-217.

[225] Smolderen, 'Médailles et jetons' (see n. 61), p. 166, Fig. 1.

[226] The kings of France had long employed a blue field semy of fleurs-de-lys for

They could also be separated from the flint completely, and represented as wavy fires in panels alternating with the other elements of the badge, as was done in the border of a window in the Sainte-Chapelle in Dijon.[227]

The flint-and-firesteel badge was also frequently associated with the ducal arms, usually in place of the full collar of the Order (which it was probably intended to represent), but sometimes in association with it in the context of an achievement.[228] On occasion, the outline of the firesteel was used in place of that of a shield to display the whole ducal arms, thus emphasizing the intimate relationship that existed between the Order, re-presented by the former, and the public authority, represented by the latter.[229] (See Fig. 13.)

As I noted above, the flint-and-firesteel badge had been at least loosely associated with the cross of St Andrew from the time of its adoption, but this association was only regularized at the time of the attachment of both emblems to the Order of the Golden Fleece. In the same manuscript of the earliest statutes in which the collar is first shown in its classic position, a cross of St Andrew made of branches appears in the upper margin next to the crested helm of the duke, and set in its angles are four representations of the badge, with the fiery flints towards the centre and the handles of the firesteel aligned with the ends of the cross.[230] This arrangement or some variant of it was to be used with great frequency in numerous different contexts not only for the remainder of the Valois phase of Burgundian history, but well beyond it. The other versions of the arrangement (which of course involved all of the different forms of the cross identified above) included (2) one of the same form, but surrounded by a sort of glory formed of flames;[231] (3) one in which the lowest badge opened upwards rather than downwards;[232] (4) one in which all four badges had finger-rings inwards and the fiery flints outwards;[233] (5) one in which a single badge was set in the uppermost canton of the cross with the flint downwards, spewing flames

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hangings of all kinds. On the meaning and use of this figure, see Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology* (see n. 4), ch. 8, pp. 320-356.

[227] Stalins, *Briquet héraldique* (see n. 34), p. 181, Fig. 163.

[228] For example, the badge was set to either side of the motto in the compartment at the base of the achievement engraved to serve as a bookplate or propaganda leaflet (see n. 84 and Fig. 12).

[229] For examples of the firesteel charged with the arms of the dukes, see Matile, *Die Burgunderbeute* (see n. 58), pp. 201-203, Abb. 198-201. It is preserved in Bern, Historisches Museum, inv. nr. 310a.

[230] Korteweg, 'Le manuscrit KB, 76 E 14' (see n. 77), p. 41.

[231] On a tent of Charles 'the Rash', see Matile, *Die Burgunderbeute* (see n. 58), p. 32, Abb. 9.

[232] On two infantry shields of Charles 'the Rash', see *ibidem*, pp. 187, 188, Abb. 185, 187.

[233] On a guidon of Charles 'the Rash', see *ibidem*, p. 101, Abb. 40.

over the field;[234] (6) one in which the flint-and-firesteel badges were set only in the upper and lower cantons, with the finger-rings of the firesteel oriented inwards and curled around the arms of the cross, in the form either of ragged staves or of arrows, and also bound by a cord both to one another and to the ducal initials set in the lateral cantons;[235] (7) one in which the cross, again composed of either staves or arrows, was inserted through the finger-rings (and sometimes the voided body) of a single firesteel, usually represented on a larger scale so that the arms of the cross protrude only a relatively short distance above, below, or to either side of the firesteel, and the flint with its flames occupies most of the lower or other lateral canton;[236] and (8) one in which a single cross is similarly inserted through the interlocking finger-rings of two firesteels.[237] Sometimes the flint was detached from the firesteel and set either in isolation or alone in a canton of the cross;[238] in one variant of this arrangement, the field was filled with fiery sparks and the motto of the duke was set on a scroll suspended from flanking columns and stretched behind the cross.[239]

The most common context for all of these arrangements was the field of some form of livery-flag (discussed below in §6), but they were also set on tents,[240] on the bardings of horses,[241] on various elements of the personal armour and weapons both of knights of the order and of common soldiers,[242] and on the large shields of archers and crossbowmen.[243] In a civil context, a compound emblem of this sort was even set on the cradle of the future Duke and Emperor Charles, made about 1478.[244]

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[234] On a livery banner of Charles 'the Rash' borne at the Battle of Murten, see *ibidem*, p. 22, Abb. 7.

[235] On various guidons of Charles 'the Rash', see *ibidem*, p. 102, Abb. 43; p. 115, Abb. 60; p. 116, Abb. 61, etc.

[236] On various trumpet-banners and livery-banners of Charles 'the Rash', see *ibidem*, p. 92, Abb. 30, and p. 118, Abb. 64-66. This arrangement, often with an even more diminutive cross, was also used in the insignia of various confraternities, on which see Stalins, *Briquet Héraldique* (see n. 34), Figs. 61, 65, 67, 68, pp. 102-106.

[237] This arrangement appears in the collar of the Confraternity of *Arquebusiers* of Louvain; see Stalins, *Briquet Héraldique* (see n. 34), Fig. 74.

[238] On a streamer of Charles 'the Rash', see *ibidem*, p. 122, Abb. 73.

[239] It is depicted on the trapper of the horse ridden by Duke Philippe 'the Good' on one of his equestrian seals, and on a trapper of a horse in a painting of the Battle of Murten (*ibidem*, p. 16, Abb. 2).

[240] *Ibidem*, p. 32, Abb. 9.

[241] *Ibidem*, p. 22, Abb. 22.

[242] Stalins, *Briquet Héraldique* (see n. 34), p. 59, Fig. 12.

[243] Matile, *Die Burgunderbeute* (see n. 58), pp. 187, 188, Abb. 185, 187.

[244] Now in Brussels, Musées royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, published in Lecat, *Le siècle* (see n. 43), p. 93.

It should be added here that the flint-and-firesteel badge, either alone or in association with the cross, was also employed in a vast number of different settings throughout and beyond the period with which we are here concerned, both as a decorative motif symbolic of allegiance to the Burgundian duke or as a formal element of the insignia of a confraternity of some sort – especially of archers or *arquebusiers* – in one of the towns subject to the Burgundian state. It was embossed, for example, on the horse-armour made for the companion King Henry VIII of England, and on the saddle of his contemporary the Duke-Emperor Charles V.[245] It was carved into the panels of chests and court-cupboards and the exposed timbers of the ceiling used in such settings as the chamber of the Great Council of Brabant, the Hospital of Alost, and the halls of the *Arquebusiers* of Louvain and the *Chaudronniers* of Tournai,[246] and was carved into the decorative stonework,[247] set in stained glass windows,[248] and painted on the walls of ducal palaces (including the chapel of the palace in Antwerp).[249] It was also included in a metallic form in the official collars of the Confraternities of St Anthony of Ghent, St Christopher of Antwerp, St George of Gorinchem, the United Estates of Holland, St Sebastian of Vliesseghem, the *Arquebusiers* of Antwerp, St Sebastian of Eindhoven, the Archers of Hulsbout, St George of Antwerp, St Sebastian of Antwerp, and the *Canonniers-Arquebusiers* of Ath.[250]

The use of the fiery flint-and-firesteel badge in these and many other comparable contexts, including many not under ducal control, suggests very strongly that it soon came to be generally recognized as a stable emblem not merely of the Burgundian prince and state, but of something resembling a Burgundian *nation*, whose members could themselves display it as a sign of their membership in that nation. Indeed, on the basis of frequency of use it could be said to be *the* principal emblem of Burgundian nationality. The fact that it was closely associated with the Order of the Golden Fleece (whose collar was of course composed of links in this form) meant that it also served to strengthen the identification of Burgundian subjects with that ducal society, and the fact that it was so often conjoined in some manner with the cross of St Andrew, patron of the Order and the state, must have had a similar effect. Indeed, all of these Burgundian emblems must have suggested all of the others to anyone familiar with their use.

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[245]  Stalins, *Briquet Héraldique* (see n. 34), p. 61, Figs. 14, 15.
[246]  *Ibidem*, pp. 93-97, Figs. 50-59.
[247]  *Ibidem*, pp. 77-81, Figs. 27-38.
[248]  *Ibidem*, pp. 179-181, Figs. 162-166.
[249]  *Ibidem*, pp. 82-83, Figs. 39-40.
[250]  *Ibidem*, pp. 101-107, Figs. 60-74.

## 5.4. The Effigy of the Golden Fleece

The next stable figural emblem to be adopted by the Valois dukes of Burgundy was the effigy of the golden fleece itself: the one emblem wholly distinctive of the Order, and the only one that was almost never employed in isolation from any of the others. The fleece was almost certainly adopted as a symbol of the chivalric ideals of the Order, which was implicitly equated with the noble company of the Argonauts led by the Greek prince Jason to obtain the marvellous golden fleece of the king of Colchis. The latter was itself a land of some symbolic value to the Burgundian dukes, for it was close both to the Troy from whose people the French claimed descent, and to the Constantinople to whose aid Duke Philippe hoped to lead the knights of Latin Christendom in a crusade.[251] Thus, the knights of the Golden Fleece were more loosely associated in the minds of their contemporaries both with the noble Trojans (who like Jason were pagans) and with the heroic knights of the First Crusade (who represented the cream of Christianity). On a still higher level of abstraction, the fleece probably symbolized the ideas of wealth, the 'Orient', the idea of a company of noble heroes, and the idea of chivalry in general.

In keeping with the statutes, the fleece that served as the emblem of the Order and the insigne of its members was sometimes worn with armor on a simple chain, in keeping with a statute permitting that form of substitution, as we have seen,[252] but in graphic representations other than full portraits it was almost invariably shown suspended from the collar made up of flint-and-firesteel badges.[253] Except on ducal jetons – where as we have seen the fleece was often set suspended from two firesteels[254] – when an emblem of the Order simpler than the full collar was called for, one of the minor badges was normally used. Why neither the fleece alone nor the fleece-and-two-firesteels was employed on either seals or coins remains unclear, but it may be that the dukes hesitated to make major alterations in the designs of objects that represented their legal and financial authority in the most direct way.

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[251] D. Quéruel, 'Jason et le mythe troyen', in: Van den Bergen-Pantens, *L'Ordre de la toison d'or* (see n. 12), pp. 91-98, has recently explained how Jason was converted by an allegorical interpretation of his legend from a perfidious and perjured enemy of the Trojans (from whom the French, like the contemporary Welsh and English and the Romans before them, traced their descent) into an ideal model for Burgundian chivalry.

[252] See statutes, ch. 1, summarized in Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), p. 369.

[253] A rare exception is the portrait of Antoine, Great Bastard of Burgundy and count of La Roche-en-Ardennes, cited above.

[254] See Smolderen, 'Médailles et jetons' (see n. 61), p. 180.

## 5.5. The War-Cry and Mottoes of the Dukes

Like most fifteenth-century princes and barons, the dukes of Burgundy made use of a fixed *cri-de-guerre* or war-cry, and this is of interest here because it was sometimes represented in association with the ducal achievement, either in addition to or in place of the ducal motto. The war-cry took the form of the single word *Mon(t)joye*, a common element of this type of verbal emblem (that of the king being *Montjoie Saint Denis*) which effectively meant simply 'rally'. In a manuscript of the *Chroniques de Hainault* prepared for Philippe 'the Good' his war-cry was represented in gold letters in the form *Mon – yoie* set on the field to either side of the ducal crest in the achievement placed over the miniature of the presentation of the book,[255] and in another manuscript of the same period it was represented in the same manner and position (but written *Mon – Joye*) in the right margin of the first page.[256] In each of these contexts, the current ducal motto was also represented, but in a different manner and position.

The mottoes with which both the collar and its links were often associated – *Aultre naray* (*tant que je vive*) under Philippe and *Je lay emprins* (*bien en adviegne*) under Charles – were also multivalent signs. They almost certainly referred at least partly to the close and exclusive relationship of the current duke to the Order, which in contemporary terms constituted a sort of chivalrous 'enterprise'.[257] The first motto actually appears in the record at exactly the same time as the foundation of the Order.[258] In the opinion of Claudine Lemaire, both mottoes may well have alluded to the Jason legend from which the Order took its name and distinctive emblem, through the medium of Christine de Pizan's retelling of the Jason legend in her *Livre de Mutacion de Fortune*.[259] In addition, they seem to have alluded to the relationship of the dukes to their wives, Isabella of Portugal and Margaret of York, who employed as their own mottoes the phrases that completed and explained the mottoes of their husbands: *tant que je vive* (for as long as I live) and *bien en adviengne* (may good come of it).

The one remaining motto that was eventually attached to the order – *Pretium non vile laborum* (the prize of the labours is not unworthy) – refers quite clearly to the Jason legend and more obscurely to the doctrines of

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[255] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, ms. 9242, fol. 1r, published in Van den Bergen-Pantens, *L'Ordre de la Toison d'or* (see n. 12), p. 9, Pl. 1.
[256] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, ms. 10.308, fol. 3v, published in Van den Bergen-Pantens, *L'Ordre de la Toison d'or* (see n. 12), p. 99, fig. 1.
[257] Words with the sense 'enterprise' or 'undertaking' were associated with orders of knighthood from the foundation of the Aragonese 'Enterprise' of St George in 1371/79. See Boulton, *Knights of the Crown* (see n. 6), pp. 279-288.
[258] Lemaire, 'Histoire d'un mythe' (see n. 210), p. 84.
[259] *Ibidem*, p. 84.

alchemy, which were very important in the region of the Burgundian state throughout its history.[260] It is unclear when this last motto was introduced, however, and unlike the other two, it does not appear to have been set on the flags, tents, and hangings of the Valois dukes.

The first two mottoes were in fact very commonly associated with the other emblems of the dukes in every context in which the latter were displayed. To begin with, both mottoes were sometimes represented in association with the ducal achievement, though the manner in which they were displayed even in this context varied significantly. For example, in the painting of the achievement in the manuscript of the *Chroniques de Hainault* just referred to, the words *Aultre naray* are set directly on the field in blue letters in a Gothic display-script to either side of the shield, below the lambrequin or mantling.[261] In the second representation of the ducal achievement with the war-cry cited above, by contrast, the motto is set in gold letters in a similar script on a large dichromatic scroll placed above the whole achievement (and immediately above the war-cry), and associated by its position and scale with the ducal badge of flint-and-firesteel spewing fiery sparks that is set above it.[262] In the famous engraving of the great achievement by W. A. already cited several times, the motto IE LAY EMPRINS is represented in yet another manner: in a contemporary variant of Lombardic capitals set directly on the field of an architectural compartment, which is strewn with fiery sparks emanating from flint-and-firesteels set at either end.[263]

Whether Pastoureau is justified in seeing *Aultre naray* as part of a *device* of the Order itself is doubtful, however, as the motto is not mentioned in the Order's statutes or included either in its collar or any part of its habit. Indeed, it does not appear to me that either motto was associated in a sufficiently regular or exclusive fashion with any of the particular ducal badges to constitute part of a true device like the garter of the English Order – which almost always bore the motto *Hony soyt ke mal y pense*. In the case of the motto *Je lay emprins*, it was given pride of place on several types of military flag, including livery-standards, livery-guidons, livery-pennons, and trumpet-banners. On flags of all four types, it was usually set in large,

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[260] On the Jason legend and its relationship to the order, see Doutrepont, 'Jason et Gédéon' (see n. 222); and V. Tourneur, 'Les origines de l'ordre de la Toison d'or et de la symbolique des insignes de celui-ci', in: *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique, Lettres*, 5th series, 42 (1956), pp. 300-323; and Lemaire, 'Histoire d'un mythe' (see n. 210).

[261] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, ms. 9242, fol. 1r, published in Van den Bergen-Pantens, *L'Ordre de la Toison d'or* (see n. 12), p. 9, Pl. 1.

[262] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, ms. 10.308, fol. 3v, published in Van den Bergen-Pantens, *L'Ordre de la Toison d'or* (see n. 12), p. 99, Fig. 1.

[263] See n. 84 and Fig. 11.

decorative letters directly on the field, immediately to the sinister of a large cross associated with one or more firesteel-badges, and sometimes with the ducal cypher described in the next subsection.[264]

## 5.6. Single Letters used as Emblems by the Dukes

The one remaining type of paraheraldic emblem employed by the Valois dukes in association with those of the state and of the Golden Fleece was the cryptic letter or pair of letters. These were always the initials of (1) the name of the state (the B of Burgundia/Bourgoigne); (2) the personal name of the duke (a type now called a 'personal cypher'); (3) the personal names of the duke and his current duchess (a marital cypher); or (4) the words of a secret motto (to which the word 'cypher' was originally applied in the sixteenth century).

The first of these four senses we have seen as inherent in the form of the ducal badge of the firesteel, whose rings represented the bows of the majuscule letter B. A personal cypher, in the form of the letter 'c' and its mirror image, often bound by cords, was regularly employed in the emblematics of Charles 'the Rash', who as we have just noted often displayed this pair of letters on hangings and flags.[265] His father, Philippe 'the Good', seems to have made little or no use of a personal cypher, but had made a closely comparable use of the letter 'e' and its mirror image; as there is no obvious reason why he would have chosen this letter, it is assumed to be the initials of a secret motto.[266] The paired 'e's' bound by cords appear, for example, opposite the fiery flint and steel on an ivory panel of the Throne of Grace carved for Philippe 'the Good' at some time in or after 1453;[267] and in an armorial *mille-fleurs* tapestry made by Jehan de Haze in 1466 and captured by the Swiss in 1477;[268] and in the left margin of the title page in a manuscript already cited in the context of the war-cry and motto.[269] In the last context it also appears on a larger scale in the right margin, conjoined with the flint-and-firesteel badge, its cords passing through the curled handle of the firesteel, which are set at the top; this combinations is set just below a middle achievement, and balances a motto-scroll above that

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[264]  See Matile, *Die Burgunderbeute* (see n. 58), pp. 155-157, Abb. 144-149.

[265]  For examples of the use of the pair of c's, see: Matile, *Die Burgunderbeute* (see n. 58), p. 115, Abb. 60; p. 116, Abb. 61; and pp. 155-157, Abb. 144-149.

[266]  The significance of the two letters has eluded scholars.

[267]  See Leithe-Jasper and Distelberger, *The Kunsthistorische Museum Vienna* (see n. 45), p. 33, acq. no. Pl 10078.

[268]  See Matile, *Die Burgunderbeute* (see n. 58), p. 125, Abb. 89-90; pp. 206 and 209, Abb. 204; Lecat, *Le siècle* (see n. 43), p. 131.

[269]  Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier, ms. 10.308, fol. 3v, published in *ibidem*, p. 99, fig. 1.

achievement. Under both dukes the paired letters frequently replaced the lateral firesteels in arrangements of badges around the national cross, and were thus included in the complex emblematics of the state.[270]

Finally, both dukes made at least a limited use of their marital cyphers, but these seem to have been restricted to tapestries and other private items, and are therefore if limited interest here. The use of both personal and marital cyphers in conjunction with the emblems of the Order and the state served primarily to personalize the ideology suggested by the former and the authority represented by the latter, and was presumably intended to remind subjects of the identity and high goals of their common rulers as individuals. This was certainly the function such cyphers have performed since that time in the emblematics of monarchical states, where they are still widely used at the present day.

## 5.7. Livery-colours Employed by the Dukes

The one remaining type of paraheraldic emblem employed by the dukes of Burgundy in the fifteenth century was the purely chromatic type called the 'livery-colour' or 'colours'.[271] In this area there was at first considerable diversity, as quite different colours were employed for different purposes. The emblematic colour of the Burgundian party in the civil war with the Armagnac or Orléanist party, used on clothing of all kings, was a type of blue called *bleu pers*, but this was never used either as a personal livery or as a colour associated with the Order. Philippe 'the Good', to emphasize his perpetual mourning for his assassinated father, adopted black and grey as his personal livery-colours, but the first and more important of these colours was never formally associated with the Order of the Golden Fleece.

The principal colour he assigned to the Order was in fact scarlet red, which was assigned to the outer side of the underhabit, mantle, and caped hood or chaperon the companions were to wear during most of the formal

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[270] For examples of the use of these letters in association with the saltire, Matile, *Die Burgunderbeute* (see n. 58), p. 115, Abb. 60; p. 116, Abb. 61.

[271] Very little has been published on the subject of livery-colours, though interest in this form of paraheraldic emblem has been on the increase, along with an interest in the symbolism of colours in all contexts. The earliest studies of relevance here are those of C. Beaune, 'Costume et Pouvoir en France à la fin du Moyen Âge', in: *Revue des sciences humaines* 183 (1981), pp. 125-146; and *The Birth of an Ideology* (see n. 7). Most of the recent work in this area has been done by Michel Pastoureau, whose latest relevant books are *L'Étoffe du Diable: Une histoire des rayures et des tissus rayés* (Paris, 1991); *Bleu: Histoire d'une couleur* (Paris, 2002); and *Une Histoire symbolique du Moyen Âge occidental* (Paris, 2004). There is also a useful presentation of the livery colours and badges used by King Charles VI of France in the exhibition catalogue *Paris 1400: Les arts sous Charles VI. Paris, Musée du Louvre, 22 mars-12 juillet 2004* (Paris, 2004), Annexe I, pp. 375-389.

sessions of the chapter. Like many other such emblems, this colour was highly polysemous in the symbolic sphere, and was probably intended to represent several quite distinct ideas. In the first place, scarlet was the colour used for the formal mantles of a wide variety of dignities, including those of cardinal, prince, and peer, so it is likely that Philippe chose it at least partly to suggest the exalted rank of his companions. Pastoureau has pointed out that it was also the colour of the cross emblematic of the patron of the duchy, the state, and the Order, and of the fiery sparks emitted by the ducal badge of the flint-and-firesteel that was associated with the Order through its collar.[272] In the context of the Order Pastoureau also sees both the fire and the colour red as symbolic of the Holy Spirit: a Pentecostal fire, which would stir the souls of the companions to fight ardently for Christ and his Church.

The only other colours associated with the Order and the Burgundian state were grey and white. The former was the secondary colour of the founder's personal liveries, as we have seen, and was also the colour of the lining of the scarlet vestments of the companions of the Order down to 1473. In that year, however, the original *petit gris* lining was replaced by one of white satin, and white thus became the secondary colour of the Order. White had of course long been the colour of the field of the patronal cross, so the adoption of this colour merely completed the association of the colours of the Order with those of its patron saint. It also gave both the Order and the State a consistent set of emblematic colours with which its subjects could identify.

*6. The Flags and Uniforms of the Burgundian Armies*

Something should finally be said here about the physical contexts in which the emblems whose form and significance I have just described would have been seen most frequently by the ordinary people of the Burgundian state. These included tapestries and tents, but the most important contexts were almost certainly the flags displayed before the dukes and their officers and commanders, and the uniforms worn by their ordinary soldiers.

Three broad categories of flag were employed in Britain, France, and Germany from about 1360 to some time in the sixteenth century. In the first category fall the traditional armorial (and more precisely armiferous) flags,[273] including the triangular (and often forked) armiferous pennon, its diminutive the armiferous pennoncel, and its greatly expanded version the armiferous standard; and also the elongated rectangular trumpet-banner, and the square or upright rectangular armiferous banner. All of these flags were

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[272] See Pastoureau and Popoff, *Grand armorial* (see n. 12), vol. 1, pp. 58-59 and 61.
[273] On the forms of armorial and paraheraldic flag, see esp. R. Gayre of Gayre and Nigg, *Heraldic Standards* (Edinburgh/London, 1959).

representative (at least on the social level with which we are concerned) of the distinctive ancestry, identity, and authority of the prince whose arms they bore, and were usually flown only in his presence or that of one of his principal lieutenants.

In the second category fall the newer paraheraldic flags of the same set of physical types, which instead of the arms bore the cross of the patron saint, either alone (as was the invariable case in Britain) or in combination with one or more a princely badges (the most common case in France and Burgundy). These flags – which included the banners of St George of England, St Andrew of Scotland, and St Michael of France – were at once patronal and proto-national flags, and came to represent the state or nation in the abstract, rather than its ruler or his dynasty.

Finally, there were the various forms of paraheraldic livery-flag whose field was made up of panels in the livery-colours, and was charged with various livery-badges, devices, cyphers, and mottoes. This general type of flag included the triangular livery-streamer, livery-standard, livery-guidon, and livery-pennon, of steadily decreasing length and attenuation, all of which had a field divided into *horizontal* panels, and might have at the staff either a rectangular panel charged with the national with the national patronal cross, or an effigy of a patron saint, with or without a comparable frame. The type also included the long rectangular flag best termed a livery-banderole and the square or upright rectangular livery-banner, which bore on a field that was usually divided *vertically* a single badge or an effigy of a saint.

Not surprisingly, the Valois and early Habsburg dukes of Burgundy made regular use of all of these types of flag, just as they made use of every type of livery emblem available to them. A representation of the Battle of Murten in a manuscript of the Chronicle of Bern by Diebold Schilling shows a ducal company accompanied by no fewer than nine different types of flag, all but one of which bear paraheraldic emblems rather than the ducal arms.[274] (See Fig. 14.) It is significant that the only flags represented at the head of the army in the wars of the Emperor Maximilian I in his engraved Triumph are very deep standards charged either with a plain armorial saltire or with the saltire composed of ragged staves surrounded by flint-and-firesteel badges spewing flames outwards: all Burgundian, rather than imperial or Austrian, flags.[275]

It is also interesting that both the Valois and Habsburgs dukes of our period treated the design of their livery-flags flags much more freely than the English and Scottish, at least, and than most of the princes of France so far as their customs in this area are now known.

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[274] Matile, *Die Burgunderbeute* (see n. 58), p. 22, Abb. 7.
[275] See *The Triumph of Maximilian I*, ed. Appelbaum (see n. 86), Pls. 91, 95, 100, 102.

As for the uniforms of the ducal armies in the fifteenth century, these seem to have been marked primarily with the red patronal cross, usually simply applied over whatever coat the soldier was wearing, regardless of its colour.[276] The ducal crossbowmen also carried a tall shield of the type called a pavisse, which seems normally to have had a white field charged with the red patronal cross throughout, and often bore in the four triangular spaces created by the cross representations in their proper colours of the flint-and-firesteel badge.[277] Thus, the same emblems that were most commonly set on flags and pavilions were also displayed on the coats and shields of ducal soldiers.

## 7. Conclusions

Space does not permit a more detailed account of the practices of the dukes of Burgundy with respect to the use of the emblems of the Order of the Golden Fleece in association with emblems representing their person, their dynasty, their territorial authority, their household and affinity, their intentions, and the protection of the patron saint of their duchy, people, and domain, to promote a sense of the essential unity of their domain and people, and their equality and therefore equivalence with the established kingdoms and nations of France, England, and Scotland. It should be clear from the foregoing survey, however, that these emblems were virtually ubiquitous in the Burgundian domain throughout the period after the foundation of the Order, and were used in virtually every available environment. There also is reason to think that they achieved some of the desired effect, even though the Burgundian state was effectively annexed after 1477 to the growing domain of the Austrian House of Habsburg, for the Habsburg dukes adopted both the Order and the whole set of emblems associated with it under the Valois for their own uses, and continued to use them for as long as the political situation permitted. The Burgundian emblems thus came to be among those most prominently displayed by the Habsburgs of both Spain and Austria, and after the War of the Spanish Succession by the Bourbon kings of Spain. Their use in the Low Countries only ceased after their detachment from Austria during the Napoleonic period, and in Austria itself only with the fall of the monarchy in 1918, but some of them were revived by the first king of the Belgians in 1830, and continued to be used by the king of Spain, one of the two Sovereigns of the Order of the Golden Fleece (albeit the less traditional one), to the present day. Since the later sixteenth century, however, the form and use of the surviving emblems – principally the collar of the Order, the flint-and-

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[276] See N. Michael, *Armies of Medieval Burgundy 1364-1477* (London, 1983), Pls. E-H.

[277] See *ibidem*, p. 29, figures.

firesteel badge, and the red saltire on white of St Andrew – have come to be stereotyped, so that the Valois period of their history appears by contrast as one marked by a taste both for high artistic quality and invention and for infinite variety.
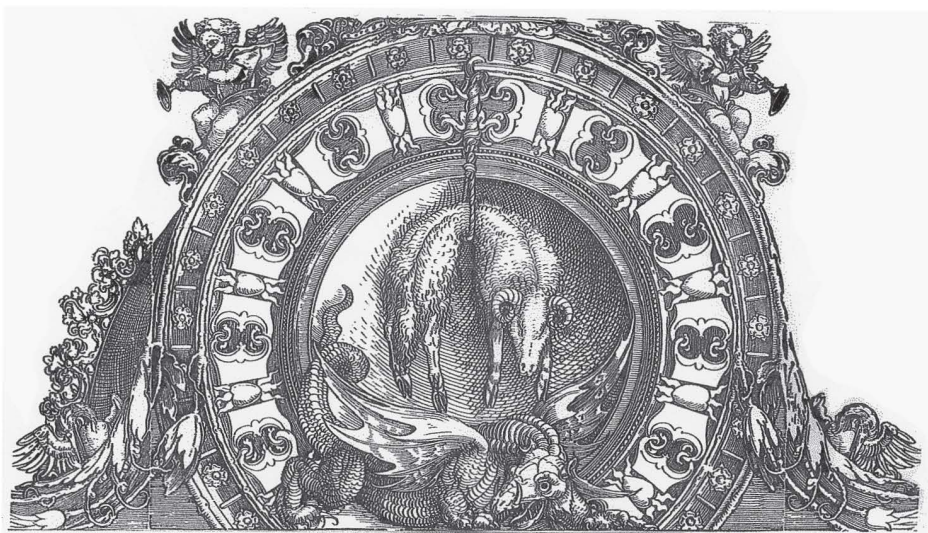
**Figure 1.  Burgundian Emblems from the Triumphal Arch of Maximillian I, 1512–1515**

*a.* (above) The Collor of the Golden Fleece and the guardian dragon of Kolkhis
*b.* (below left) The flint-and-firesteel badge held by a gryphon, beast-badge of the Habsburgs
*c.* (below right) The cross of St. Andrew, patron saint of Burgundy, held by a similar gryphon

**Figs. 2-5. Engraved Portraits of the Rulers of Burgundy, 1512–1519**

**Fig. 2. Archduke Maximilian and Duchess Marie**
(from *Maximilian's Triumphal Arch*)

Note that Maximilian wears the same archducal crown that is set over his arms to the lower right, while Marie wears a crown heightened with fleurons comparable to the type worn by kings and queens. Neither wears or displays the collar of the Golden Fleece.



**Fig.3. Maximilian I as Emperor and Philippe III as Duke and King** (ibid.)

Here Maximilian wears the same imperial mitre-crown that is set over his arms (the Empire with the inesutcheon of the arms of Austria impaling Burgundy), while both Philippe and Juana of Castile wear royal crowns. Both men wear the collar of the Golden Fleece.

Imperator Cæsar Diuus Maximilianus Pius Felix Augustus

**Fig. 4. Maximilian I as Emperor and Duke of Burgundy**
(by Albrecht Dürer)

Here, Maximilian is shown only as a knight of the Golden Fleece. His imperial status is indicated only by the inscription above his bust.

**Fig. 5. Charles II (I, and V) as Duke, King, and Emperor,**
(by Hans Burgkmair, 1519)

Charles II of Burgundy, newly elected Emperor, is represented like his grandfather wearing only the collar of the Golden Fleece, but over his head are set his achievements as King of Castile, Aragon, and insular Sicily, Archduke of Austria, and Duke of Burgundy (to the left); as Emperor (in the centre); and as King of peninsular Sicily, Jerusalem and Hungary. All three are ensigned with the appropriate form of crown, and the central one is surrounded by the collar of the Golden Fleece.

**Fig. 6.  Designs of Seals and Medal of Duke Philippe III 'the Good'**

**a.  Great Seal as Duke of Brabant and Limburg, 1430**
Four visible flint-and-firesteel badges, set on the field before and below the horse, spew flames over the field

**b.  A Sigilliform Medal of the Duke**
A single large, flint-and-firesteel badge, set on the front and back section of the horsetrapper, spews flames over the surface of the latter rather than the field of the medal
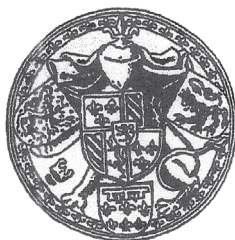
**c. Privy Seal (Obverse and Counterseal)**
On the filed of the seal proper, are set four flint-and-firesteels spewing flames; on the smaller counterseal, only one is set, without flames.

**Fig. 7.  Seals of Duke Charles I 'the Bold'**

**a.  Great Seal** and **b. Counterseal for Brabant, 1472**
On the Great Seal, a flint-and-firesteel below the horse
spews flames; on the counterseal, a pair of such badges
flanks the base of the shield.
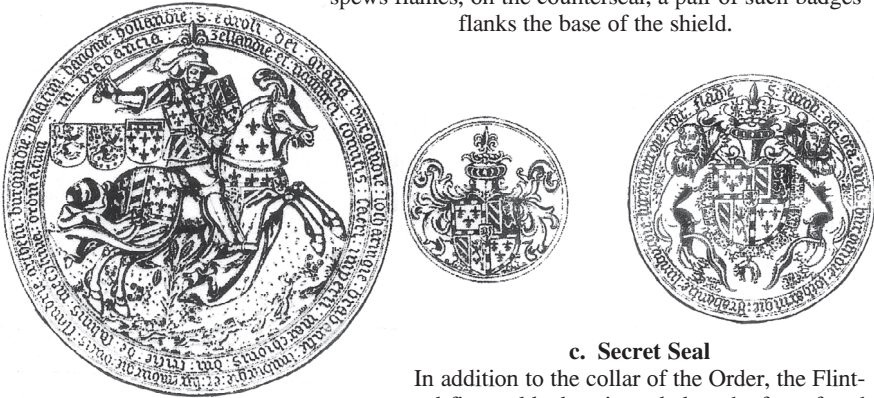
**c.  Secret Seal**
In addition to the collar of the Order, the Flint-
and-firesteel badges is set below the feet of each
of the lion supporters.
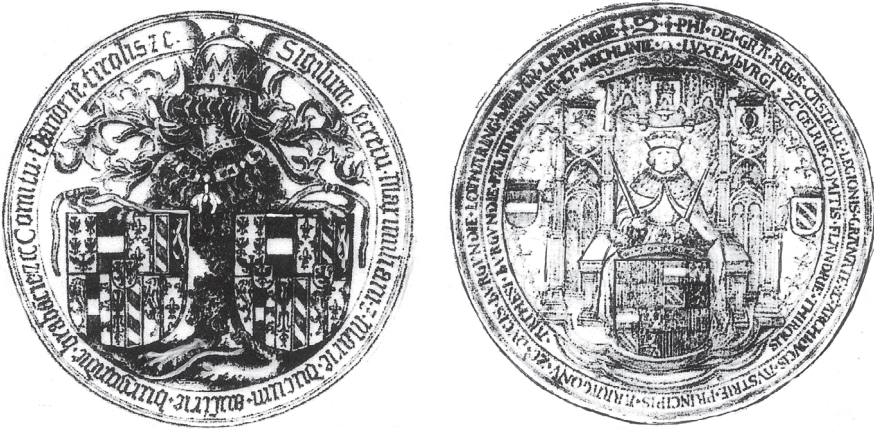
**Fig. 8.  Designs of Seals of the Duchess Marie and Dukes Maximilian I and Philippe IV
'the Handsome'**

**a. Great Seal of Duchess Marie and
Archduke Maximilian**
The single lion supporter wears the collar
of the Golden Fleece and a helmet
surmounted by the archducal crown.

**b. Great Seal of Duke Philippe IV 'the
Handsome' as King of Castile**
The effigy wears the collar of the Golden
Fleece; similar royal crowns are set over
the arms of Austria and Burgundy

**Fig. 9. Designs of Seals of Duke Charles II (Emperor Karl V, King Carlos I)**

**a. First Seal as Prince of Spain, 1515**
The externally-marshalled arms are all Burgundian, while the collar of the Golden Fleece is set around the arms and the Burgundian firesteels are set on the field to either side of the archducal crown.

**b. Great Seal as Prince of Spain**
The Horsetrapper is strewn with fiery flint-and-firesteels, and many of the externally marshalled arms are Burgundian, but the collar of the order is not displayed.

**c. Great Seal (as King of Spain) for the Low Countries**
The collar of the Golden Fleece is both worn by Charles and set around the shield of his arms above his head. A Burgundian cross embraced by a firesteel is set on the cloth of estate to either side of his effigy. The arms of all duchies, including Burgundy, are surmounted with ducal coronets of the Netherlandish type.

**d. First Seal as Emperor, 1519**
The collar of the Golden Fleece surrounds the arms of Burgundy, and four pairs of firesteels set against flints spew flames over the whole field of the seal. The pillars that flank the Burgundian shield are his personal device.

**Fig. 10. Two Ways of Displaying the Collar of the Order in an Armorial Achievement**

**a. The Seal of the Order of the Golden Fleece, 1432–1480**
(drawn by the author)
This was one of the earliest representations of what became the standard method of displaying the collar armorially: surrounding the shield of arms. In this arrangement the ends of the collar are not joined, as would soon be normal. Two flint-and-firesteel badges spew flames below the collar.

**b. The Collar Surrounding the Compound Achievement of Maximilian I** (by Albrecht Dürer)
In this unusual design, separate shields bear the arms of the Kingship of the Romans, the Kingdom of Hungary, the Archduchy of Austria, the Duchy of Burgundy, and the County of Tyrol. Aside from the collar, two large fiery flint-and-firesteels are included as supporters, and a third, interlocked with the Burgundian cross, replaces a crown over the arms of Burgundy.
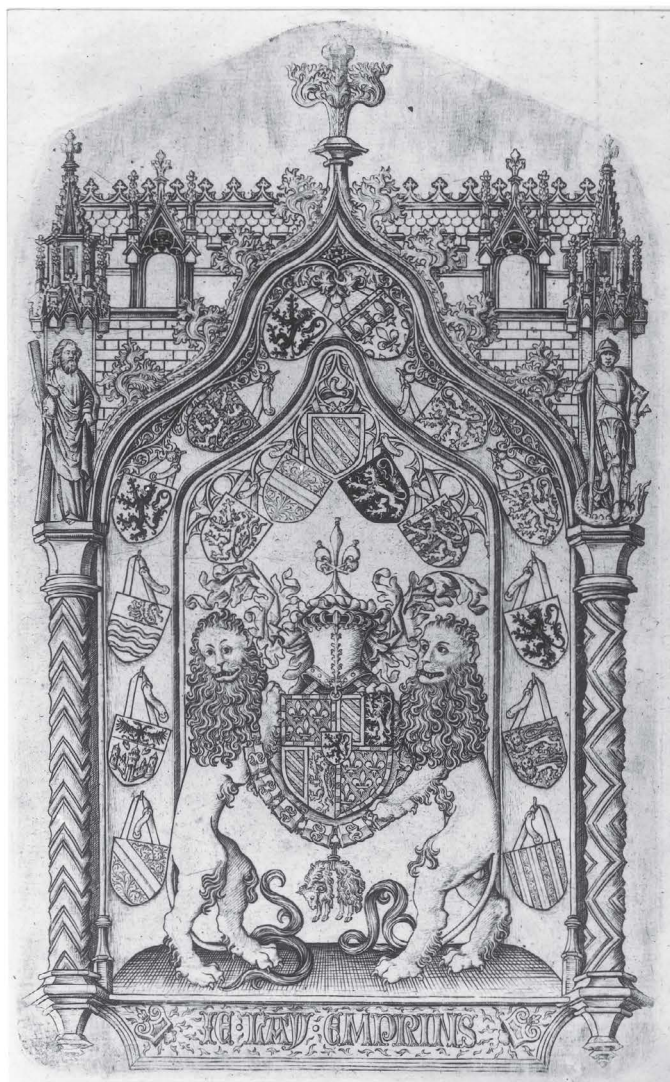
**Fig. 11. Printed Engraving of the Great Achievement of Charles I 'the Rash'**
*Engraved by Master W.A. (active 1465–1486)*

The arms are supported by two lions, surrounded by the collar of the Golden Fleece, and surmounted by the princely parade-helm, itself surmounted by the mantling or lambrequin, and by the crest. The motto is set between two badges on the compartment, the arms of the ducal dominions not included on the ducal shield are hung from the arch, and the principal patron saints of the duke (St Andrew and St George) are set atop columns to either side.

**Fig. 12. Ducal Caps and Coronets c. 1515.**

**a. German Caps from the Central Panel
of *Maximilian's Triumphal Arch***

The whole series of ducal arms
represented in this panel, from Burgundy
to Neopatria, are ensigned with ducal
caps; the arms of the County of Flanders
and the County Palatine of Burgundy that
follow bear no form of headgear.

**b. Netherlandish Coronets from
Oostzanen,
*De Graaven en Gravinnen van Holland***

Dukes Philippe II and Charles I of
Burgundy are here represented in a
procession of the Counts of Holland;
their arms are surmounted by coronets of
a form normally indicative of ducal status.

**Fig. 13. The Association of the Order's Insignia with the Ducal Arms and Effigy**
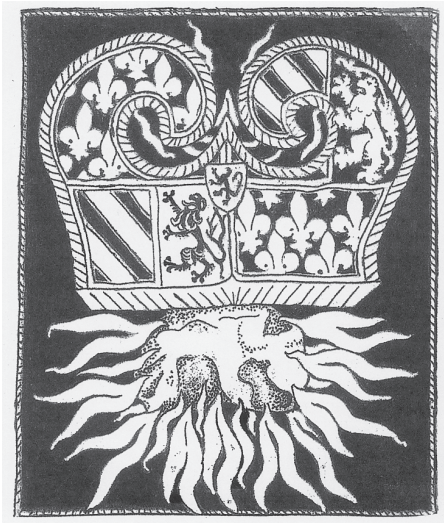


**a. The Fiery Flint-and-Firesteel Badge Charged with the Ducal Arms** (drawn by the author)
One of several from a horse-trapper of Charles 'the Rash' preserved in Bern, Historisches Museum, Inv. Nr. 310a.



**b. The Central Panel of *Maximilian's Triumphal Arch***
The central figures of the arch are Maximilian himself, enthroned above under the crowned arms of Austria, with the crowned arms of the Empire at his feet, and his son Philippe or Felipe standing below, with the achievement of the hereditary lands of Castile, Austria, and Burgundy at his feet. Both wear the collar of the Golden Fleece, and it is also set around the shields of their arms. The iconography is similar to that on their contemporary seals.
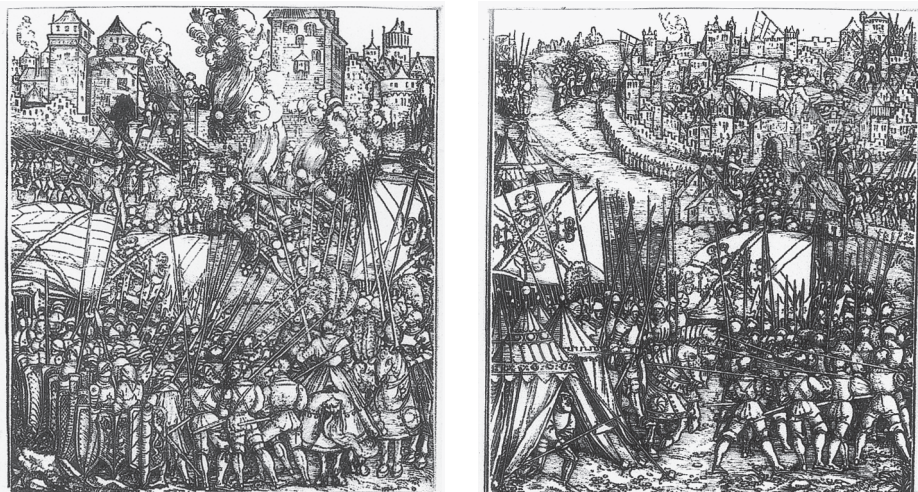
**Fig. 14. Woodcuts of three of Maximilian's Battles, from *Maximilian's Triumphal Arch***

Note the large number of livery-flags displayed, all of them bearing Burgundian rather than Austrian or Imperial emblems. They bear three different versions of the Burgundian cross used either alone, on a plain or horizontally-striped field, or in association with any of three different versions of the flint-and-firesteel badge. Under the Valois dukes, the designs of such flags had been even more complex and varied.
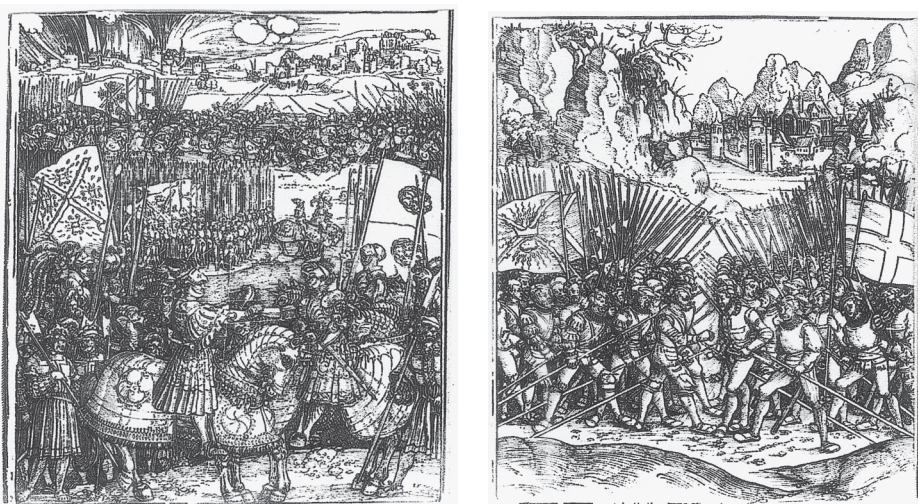
# THE IMPORTANCE OF REPUTATION IN THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF BURGUNDIAN CHIVALRY

## JEAN DE LANNOY, THE CROŸS, AND THE ORDER OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE[1]

Bernhard Sterchi

This essay is about the place of moral values in certain Burgundian works of the fifteenth century, as well as in the chapter meetings of the Order of the Golden Fleece. The society of the late medieval Burgundian nobility is usually seen as having a strong ideological background – not only in the sense of a self-conscious and synchronised political community, as it is presented in other articles of the present volume, but also in the sense of a moral community claiming an elevated individual morality for its representatives.[2] In this context, reputation is not so much a value in itself, but rather the connection between people or their actions on the one hand, and social values on the other: in other words, the medium by which someone's morality is created in public.

This can be exemplified in a short treatise by Jean de Lannoy, an important political figure of the second half of Philip the Good's reign. He was

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[1] See G. Algazi, 'Kulturkult und die Rekonstruktion von Handlungsrepertoires', in: *L'Homme. Zeitschrift für feministische Geschichtswissenschaft* 11 (2000), pp. 105-119, here p. 113f. This essay is based on the author's larger study *Über den Umgang mit Lob und Tadel. Normative Adelstheorie und politische Kommunikation im Burgundischen Hofadel* (Turnhout, 2004). I would like to thank Sonja Dünnebeil for providing me with the transcriptions of the proceedings of the Order of the Golden Fleece under Philip the Good and Charles the Bold. See her *Die Protokollbücher des Ordens vom Goldenen Vlies*, vol. 1: *Herzog Philipp der Gute, 1430-1467* (Stuttgart, 2002); other volumes are in preparation.

[2] Apart from the mental universe of both Huizinga and Elias and their reception, see J. H. Hexter, 'The Education of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance', in: *Journal of Modern History* 22 (1950), pp. 1-20; C. C. Willard, 'The Concept of True Nobility at the Burgundian Court', in: *Studies in the Renaissance* 14 (1967), pp. 33-48; C. C. Willard, 'Jean de Werchin, Senechal de Hainaut: Reader and Writer of Courtly Literature', in: K. Busby and E. Kooper, eds., *Courtly Literature: Culture and Context* (Amsterdam, 1990), pp. 595-603; M. Vale, *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages* (London, 1981); A. J. Vanderjagt, *'Qui sa vertu anoblist'. The Concepts of noblesse and chose publicque in Burgundian Political Thought* (Groningen, 1981).

lord of the village of Lannoy (which through his initiative[3] was to become a town), chamberlain of both the duke of Burgundy and the king of France, governor of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland from 1448 to 1462, governor of Walloon Flanders from 1462, and knight of the Order of the Golden Fleece. For the French king he became, in 1463, captain of Amiens, Arras, Doullens and Mortagne, and bailiff of Amiens.[4] Between 21 October 1464 and 3 May 1465 (n.st.), he wrote a treatise in the form of a letter to his newborn son Louis, in order to instruct him about the duties of a nobleman.[5] It is the emphasis given to reputation which makes this work stand out from other, similar treatises, often written by more learned men.[6]

Already the structure of the chapters point in this direction. Before proceeding to the topics of the seven deadly sins, the service at court and the motif of *disce mori*, Lannoy presents a chapter on *bien parler*, and another one on *bien aller*. *Bien parler* does not only mean – as it seems to in that passage of the letter most quoted by today's historians – to excel in learned rhetorical skills in order not to stand back in the contest with non-noble courtiers.[7] Across several passages, Jean de Lannoy evokes noble life and the court as a place where the spoken word has to be measured with care. The word is the arrow which cannot be taken back:[8]

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[3] See J.-M. Cauchies, 'Deux grands commis bâtisseurs de villes dans les Pays-Bas bourguignons: Jean de Lannoy et Pierre Bladelin (vers 1450/60)', in: *De Jaques Cœur à Renault. Gestionnaires et organisations. Troisièmes rencontres*, Collection Histoire, gestion, organisations 3 (Toulouse, 1995), pp. 45-59.

[4] B. de Lannoy and G. Dansaert, *Jean de Lannoy, le bâtisseur, 1410-1492* (Paris/Bruxelles, 1937).

[5] *Lettres envoyés par Jehan seigneur de Lannoy a Loÿs son filz*, published in De Lannoy and Dansaert, *Jean de Lannoy* (see n. 4), pp. 119-210.

[6] This is not to say that works like the *Preceptes d'Aristote à Alexandre*, Bernard de Clairvaux's *Epistre à Raymond chevalier de Saint-Ambroise*, Ramon Llull's *Livre de l'ordre de chevalerie*, Brunetto Latini's *Livre dou tresor*, Renaut de Louhans's *Livre de Mellibee et Prudence*, Guillaume de Tignonville's *Dits moraulx des philosophes*, Christine de Pizan's *Epistre Othea*, Jacques Legrand's *Livre des bonnes mœurs*, Giovanni Aurispa's *Débat de honneur*, Buonaccorso da Montemagno's *Controversie de noblesse*, Diego de Valera's *Petit traictyé de noblesse*, Hugues de Lannoy's *Enseignements paternels*, *Instruction d'un jeune prince* and *Enseignement de vraie noblesse*, Martin Le Franc's *Estrif de fortune et vertu*, Guillaume Fillastre's *Traittié de conseil*, Pierre Michault's *Doctrinal du temps present* or Charles Soillot's *Débat de félicité* do not have much more to say about reputation as is often recognised. See Sterchi, *Über den Umgang mit Lob und Tadel* (see n. 1).

[7] Hexter, 'The Education of the Aristocracy' (see n. 2), p. 14; Vale, *War and Chivalry* (see n. 2), p. 23f. The passage is in De Lannoy and Dansaert, *Jean de Lannoy* (see n. 4), p. 120f.

[8] De Lannoy and Dansaert, *Jean de Lannoy* (see n. 4), p. 128: *Et certez les parolles sont comme les flesches, que l'en peut légierement traire, mais non les retraire.*

> *Hélas! trop pis vault cop de langhe mal assis, que cop d'espée bien assis. Car, à plaie faite par l'espée, peut bien le surgien mettre garison et le sanner. Mais, à cop de langhe, n'a nul remède. Che qui est dit, demeure dit, et ne se peult rappeller, ne hoster hors de la mémore de ceulx qui l'ont oÿ.*[9]

The aesthetic and pragmatic categories of rhetorical skill are intertwined with the ethical. Conversation at court is not a question of brilliance, but of trust.[10] The *cop de langhe* is so important because someone's utterances are always judged by moral standards, thus creating someone's renown:

> *Or, puisque, par les gens oÿr parler, on juge de leurs meurs et conditions, sy doibt bien le parleur peser sa parolle, par laquelle on fera jugement de sa condition; lequel jugement sera sa renommée bonne ou malvaise. Par coy on peut bien dire que un fol parleur est comme désespéré, qui, de soy meismez, se ochist et meth à mort, car bien est mis à mort celluy qui a perdu bonne renommée, et par soy seul et par sa folie, et a la malvaise renommée acquise et ainsy de soy meismes se tue.*[11]

The crucial importance of reputation can make a man at court, or destroy him. A courtier is what people think of him. If they think badly of him, it becomes impossible for him to exert any influence, and in this respect he virtually ceases to exist.

In this sense, reputation underlies Jean de Lannoy's concept not only of the courtier, but of nobility itself. When incidentally he proclaims that people not only 'are' noble, but are taken to be noble, or are worthy of being called noble, he transposes the dichotomy of nobility by birth and nobility by virtue into a kind of nobility by accepted legitimacy.[12] On the

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[9] *Ibidem*, p. 133.

[10] *Ibidem*, p. 129: *Après regarde à qui tu parollez et se il est ton vray amy, ou non.*

[11] *Ibidem*, p. 141.

[12] *Ibidem*, p. 144: *Car, pour vray, je te dis, que virtu est la vraye fundation de noblesse, et sans laquelle nul n'est tenu pour noble, quant à soy, entre les saiges, ne digne de tenir signourie, ne d'avoir aulcun gouvernement. – Ibidem*, p. 145: *Et véritablement, c'est chose ville et desprisable, que d'homme qui ne s'esliève sur les chosez humaines. Car quant il est eslevé, adont est-il noble et lors est-il gentil et digne de grant honneur avoir et doibt bien estre appellé noble pour les nobles virtus qui en lui sont. –* See, apart from items quoted in n. 2, K. H. Borck, 'Adel, Tugend und Geblüt. Thesen und Beobachtungen zur Vorstellung des Tugendadels in der deutschen Literatur des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts', in: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 100 (1978), pp. 423-457; V. Honemann, 'Aspekte des „Tugendadels" im europäischen Spätmittelalter', in: L. Grenzmann and K. Stackmann, eds., *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit* (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 274-288, especially pp. 274-276; and K. Schreiner, 'Religiöse, historische und rechtliche Legitimation spätmittelalterlicher Adelsherrschaft', in: O. G. Oexle and W. Paravicini, eds., *Nobilitas. Funktion und Repräsen-*

other hand, the reputation of the nobleman is also the reputation of his family name,[13] and his progress on the path of virtue honours his *maison*.[14] Reputation is a prerogative of nobility, as much as nobility is a matter of reputation. No wonder that the same concern for *bonne renommée* should also guide the reader in the art of *bien aller*.

> *Et pour tout dire, en général, vas et sieuls ceulx desquels tu os bien dire, et qui partout ont bonne renommée, et meth paine de vivre et faire comme il font, et les ensieyr.*[15]

With views like this, Jean de Lannoy almost touches on a *social construction* of morality.[16] Those who are held in high esteem are those whose example is followed. Therefore, it is up to the community of courtiers to decide on what is good and what is bad. For if, on the other hand, the most powerful at court are wicked, it is they who are held in high esteem, and their example which is followed, and the whole court twists and falls into moral perversion. This, at least, is the point of view of Alain Chartier in his treatise called *Le Curial*.[17] He mentions the same *topos* of reputation at court, only in an inverted sense: the care for one's words,[18] the question of trust,[19] even Jean de Lannoy's metalepsis of the death of the courtier with a bad reputation is transposed to its negative counterpart – survival means

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tation des Adels in Alteuropa (Göttingen, 1997), pp. 376-430, esp. pp. 388-395.

[13] De Lannoy and Dansaert, *Jean de Lannoy* (see n. 4), p. 143.

[14] This is one of the reasons for writing his book as *instruction*. See De Lannoy and Dansaert, *Jean de Lannoy*, (see n. 4), p. 124: *La quinte, adfin que honneur en soit à ta maison et à tes parens.* – The same in his *explicit, ibidem*, p. 209: *Ne elle* [sc. the letter] *est à toy envoyé par un trompeur, qui te voelle décepvoir, mais est par cellui qui de tous cheux qui ont esté, sont et seront, qui le plus de bien et d'honneur te voldroit et qui autant ou plus désire le saulvement de ton amme, l'honneur de ton corps, l'acroissement de ta lignié, l'exaucement de ta maison, la multiplication de tes biens et la glore de ton nom, comme il fist oncquez du sien.*

[15] De Lannoy and Dansaert, *Jean de Lannoy* (see n. 4), p. 143: *Ne fay à toy, à tes amis, ne à ton nom, honte blasme, ne reproce, en ton vivant, ne à ta mort.*

[16] Cf. P. Berger and T. Luckmann, *The Social Constructions of Reality. A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (London, 1966).

[17] Alain Chartier, *Le Curial*, in: *idem, Œuvres latines*, ed. P. Bourgain-Hemeryck (Paris, 1977), pp. 345-376.

[18] Chartier, *Le Curial* (see n. 17), p. 365: *car il m'est besoing de bien viser de quel piet chacun vient a moy et de bien noter le poix et le peril de chacune parolle qui me sault de la bouce, adfin que par moy esgarer je ne soie sousprins, et qu'en parlant despourveuement je ne donne matere a homme de falseté relater ne malvaisement interpreter ma parolle que jamez je ne puis plus dedens rebouter.*

[19] *Ibidem*, p. 357: *S'il estudie a y trouver amistié, jamais elle ne scet trotter par les sales des grans seigneurs, ainschois se tient elle dehors et n'y entre avoec aulcun, car elle est trop mieulx recongneue par ceulx qui en yssent, expers des ruese de fortune, que par ceulx qui y entrent, ignorans ses tours bestournés.*

adaptation.[20] From the outside perspective, the courtier is only *virtueux par oyr dire*, exactly because he gives so much importance to his reputation.[21] In this sense, living at court means abandoning one's moral integrity:

> *La t'assaye a monter se tu voelz perdre ta franchise: adonc devras tu sçavoir que tu aras habandonné toy mesmez quant tu voldras poursuyr la court qui fait à homme delaissier ses propres meurs pour soy mesler a ceulx d'aultrui: car s'il est veritable, on le tiendra aux escolles de faintise; s'il aime vie honneste, on l'apprendra a dissimuler œuvres deshonnestes; s'il est pacient ou non chaillant d'avoir proffis, on lui laissera avoir soufferte...*[22]

Since Jean de Lannoy has inserted a copy of *Le Curial* in his *Lettre à Loys*,[23] it is quite astonishing how much he must have been aware of the social construction of values – nevertheless he believes that this is the way to follow. The reason for this lies in a third element of his theory. In the eyes of a perverted court, vice may be regarded as virtue and lead to a supposedly good reputation. But only the reputation based on virtue being acknowledged by the truly virtuous – *bona fama bonorum*[24] – stands up to the eyes of an ultimate judge:

> *Filz, qui de soy fait justice* [and there are similar passages with other virtues], *il est amé; qui est amé, il a des amis; qui a amis, il est loéz; qui est loé, il est honouré; quy est honouré, il est servis et à touttes gens recommandé, qui pour lui prient, par coy vint à paix, à joie et à honneur en ce monde, et sy acquiert bonne renommée aprèz sa mort et a espérance d'avoir la vraie glore infinie.*[25]

Virtue produces friends and *bonne renommée*, *mémoire* after one's death, and through other people's prayers, eternal rest and glory. Since God knows the absolute truth, he will only listen to the prayers of the truly good, therefore it is worth aspiring for the high esteem only of these people, and wise to follow only their example. This triad resulting from virtuous behaviour – renown, memory and glory – is crucial not only to Jean de Lannoy's book, but also to other treatises which are so typical of Burgundian

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[20] *Ibidem*, p. 351: *Les abus de la court et la maniere des gens curiaux sont telz que jamez homme n'y est souffert durer sans estre corrompu, ou n'y est souffert soy eslever s'il n'est corrumpable, car virtu qui est de tant de manieres avironnee, si elle ne s'enorguillit, elle est mesprisie, si elle ne se flecist, elle est par force ravallee et s'elle n'est froissie, elle est hors chassee.*

[21] *Ibidem*, p. 365: *ne ne te repute point virtueux par oyr dire, comme font les gens de court, mais mets paine de l'estre par effect d'œvre veritable.*

[22] *Ibidem*, p. 355.

[23] De Lannoy and Dansaert, *Jean de Lannoy* (see n. 4), pp. 174-188.

[24] So in Cicero's definition of glory, *pro P. Sestio*, 139: *bona fama bonorum, quae sola vera gloria nominari potest.*

[25] De Lannoy and Dansaert, *Jean de Lannoy* (see n. 4), p. 149.

ideas of nobility: the *Enseignements paternels*, the *Instruction d'un jeune prince*, the *Imaginacion* or *Enseignement de vraie noblesse*, but also Charles Soillot's *Débat de félicité*, or Martin Le Franc's *Estrif de Fortune et Vertu*.[26]

The typicality of Lannoy's instructions is also corroborated from a slightly different perspective. Charles Soillot, by the end of his career secretary to the Order of the Golden Fleece under Maximilian, has also written a small treatise in quite an unusual tone, *La moelle des affections des hommes* (the marrow of people's affections).[27] The work is dedicated to Philippe de Croÿ, a cousin of Jean de Lannoy. It is a psychological typology of young and old, rich and poor, nobles, non-nobles, clerics and women. In the dedication, Soillot points out that since men like Philippe de Croÿ have to rule over people, it might be useful for him to know about their concerns, weaknesses, and motivations. His view of nobles rounds out our observations:

> *communement tous sont ambicieux et adonnez a gloire, vanité, fame et renommee. Mais plus les deschenduz de hault et puissant lieu que les autres. Et de tant qu'ilz sont plus riche et plus puissans, d'autant sont ilz plus ambicieux et magnanimez, pour ce qu'ilz appetient faire chose seloncq et a l'advenant de leur puissance, et quy leur semblent estre licittes a icelles. Et sont durant leur virtu plus diligens que autres, pour ce qu'il leur convient avoir soing et cure de leurs affaires, qui souvent leur sont hastifz et soudains, et requerent grant celerité. Et sont plus honnestes et mieulx moriginés que vertueux. Et a ceste cause attrempent et refraingent leur yre et autres passions, pour garder et conserver leur honneur et aultrement.*[28]

This is the view of someone who, unlike most of his fellow authors, has no interest in idealising, but who, on the contrary, wants to be as realistic as possible, in order to provide a basis of information for efficient government. To him, nobles are not more virtuous because they are better people, but they try to *appear* more virtuous because it serves their ambitions to do so. Both Charles Soillot and Jean de Lannoy – insofar as the latter explains how

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[26] *Les Enseignements paternels, L'Instruction d'un jeune prince*, in: Ghillebert de Lannoy, *Œuvres*, ed. Ch. Potvin (Louvain, 1878). These two works, together with the unedited *Enseignement de vraie noblesse*, are attributed to Hugues de Lannoy in Sterchi, 'Hugues de Lannoy, auteur de l'*Enseignement de vraie noblesse*, de l'*Instruction d'un jeune prince* et des *Enseignements paternels*', in: *Le Moyen Âge* 110 (2004), pp. 79-117. Charles Soillot, *Le débat de félicité*, ed. M. Daenen (unpublished Mémoire de licence, Université de Liège, 1979/80). Martin Le Franc, *L'Estrif de Fortune et Vertu*, ed. P. F. Dembowski (Genève, 1999). See Vale, *War and Chivalry* (see n. 2), pp. 14-32.

[27] Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, ms. 3391, fols. 32-40v. The complete text is in Sterchi, *Über den Umgang mit Lob und Tadel* (see n. 1).

[28] Vienna, ms. 3391 (see n. 27), fols. 37v-38.

to make a career at court – emphasise nobility as a social virtue, as a form of existence which has its reason in the service of the public weal, in the way which has been demonstrated with other texts of the same libraries.[29] But here the motivation is explicitly pragmatic, even opportunistic. It paid to be good, and paid even more to have a good reputation.

Of course it would be not only impossible, but even wrong to calculate precisely how much it paid. To explain someone's political career solely on the basis of his moral reputation would be going too far, even in exceptional cases such as that of Jacques de Lalaing.[30] It can only be argued that also outside the literary field, there seems to be a widespread and existential concern for good reputation.

In his letter, Jean de Lannoy refers several times to his present experience of the importance of true friends, the difficulty lying in the distinction between friends and flatterers, and in the importance that others attribute to words negligently dropped on the wrong occasion.[31] Being the nephew of Antoine *le grand Croÿ* and of his brother Jean count of Chimay, he was a member of their clan, and as such involved in the *de facto* control of most of Burgundy in the early 1460s. Towards Easter 1465, at the very moment he was writing the *Lettre à Loys*, Jean de Lannoy and the Croÿ family were removed from power and exiled from the duchy in what later would be called the *coup d'état* of Charles the Bold.[32] Many of the blows dealt against them can be regarded as the result of Charles the Bold's *spin control*.[33] The Croÿs' removal from power was not only a response to their

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[29] Vanderjagt, *'Qui sa vertu anoblist'* (see n. 2), pp. 31-41.

[30] C. Beaune, 'Introduction' to *Le livre des faits du bon chevalier messire Jacques de Lalaing*, transl. C. Beaune, in: D. Régnier-Bohler, ed., *Splendeurs de la Cour de Bourgogne. Récits et chroniques* (Paris, 1995), pp. 1193-1409; G. Melville, 'Der Held – in Szene gesetzt. Einige Bilder und Gedanken zu Jacques de Lalaing und seinem Pas d'armes de la Fontaine des Pleurs', in: J.-D. Müller, ed., *'Aufführung' und 'Schrift' in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Stuttgart, 1996), pp. 253-286.

[31] De Lannoy and Dansaert, *Jean de Lannoy* (see n. 4), p. 130: *En tous lieux où que tu soyes, et généralement entre touttes gens, doibs-tu prenre garde que tu dies; car telz font souvent samblant d'estre amis, qui ne le sont pas; ains sont annemis couvers. Dieu scet comment je l'ay bien expérimenté en ceste année. – Ibidem*, p. 150: *Filz, aime carité, car elle est gardresse de amistié, et forge tousjours amis, tant comme tu polras, car n'est point de melleur monnoye et vallent trop mieulx que denyers à coroye. Dieu mercy! Je l'ay bien exprouvé en ceste présente année. Sy te pry et commande, quant tu aras congnissance de cheux qui tant m'ont monstré et fait d'amistié en mon adversité, ne leur voelle jamèz fallir, ne à eulx, ne à leur lignié, de tout ce que tu polras; car je suis trop tenu à eux.*

[32] For the events, see A. Grunzweig, 'Namur et le début de la Guerre du Bien public', in: *Études d'Histoire et d'Archéologique namuroises dédiées à Ferdinand Courtoy*, 2 vols. (Gembloux, 1952), vol. 2, pp. 531-564.

[33] For a present-day example, see J. Maltese, *Spin Control: The White House Office of Communications and the Management of Presidential News* (Chapel Hill, 1994).

increasingly daring and self-conscious behaviour as the most powerful group of courtiers under Philip the Good. Its success was also ensured by a co-ordinated destruction of their public reputation. Already in 1461, Charles had published a list of accusations against them, and wanted to proceed in the matter in front of the Order of the Golden Fleece. But for this time, the Croÿs were still powerful enough to ensure that the request was declined.[34] In 1463/64, rumours spread that the old duke would leave the government of his lands to the Croÿs during his planned crusade.[35] No-one knows whether the rumours were correct, but Charles helped to spread them and summoned the estates general in order to accuse the Croÿs.[36] Confronted with the duke's denial of the rumours,[37] he protested that he had never said that the rumours were correct, only that he had heard people say so.[38]

Charles handled the case of the *bâtard* de Rubempré in a similar way. Once he had captured the presumed spy, he ordered that no one was to speak to him, thereby creating a monopoly of information. Then he sent out messengers to tell that Rubempré was trying to execute a plot against his life, and that this plot had been planned by Rubempré's relatives, the Croÿs.[39] For a Burgundian audience it was impossible to verify the truth behind these accusations, exactly because Charles was holding Rubempré captive. When some weeks later Louis XI informed the Burgundians about his intentions behind the plot – he wanted to intercede in negotiations between Charles and the duke of Brittany – nobody believed him, not the least because of Charles's consistent communication campaign on the basis of

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[34] Jacques Du Clercq, *Mémoires*, ed. F. de Reiffenberg, 4 vols. (Paris, 1835-1836), vol. 3, p. 91f.; Georges Chastelain, *Chronique. Les fragments du livre IV révélés par l'Additional Manuscript 54156 de la British Library*, ed. J.-C. Delclos (Genève, 1991), p. 284; Georges Chastelain, *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. J. M. B. C. de Kervyn de Lettenhove, 8 vols. (Bruxelles, 1863-1866), vol. 5, p. 203; Dünnebeil, *Die Protokollbücher des Ordens vom Goldenen Vlies* (see n. 1), pp. 131-133 and pp. 138-140.

[35] Grunzweig, 'Namur et le début de la Guerre du Bien public' (see n. 32), p. 534f.; R. Wellens, *Les États généraux des Pays-Bas des origines à la fin du règne de Philippe le Beau 1464-1506* (Heule, 1974), pp. 103-118; W. Paravicini, *Karl der Kühne. Das Ende des Hauses Burgund* (Göttingen, 1976), p. 22f.

[36] Chastelain, *Œuvres* (see n. 34), vol. 4, pp. 464-468.

[37] *Ibidem*, p. 491f.

[38] J. Cuvelier, J. Dhondt, and R. Doehaerd, eds., *Actes des Etats généraux des anciens Pays-Bas I* (Bruxelles, 1948), p. 83f.

[39] J. Dufournet, 'La génération de Louis XI: quelques témoins littéraires', in: *Fifteenth Century Studies* 18 (1991), pp. 49-81, here p. 63; Paravicini, *Karl der Kühne* (see n. 35), p. 24; R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good. The Apogee of Burgundy* (London, 1970), p. 374f.; Chastelain, *Œuvres* (see n. 34), vol. 5, pp. 81-92; Du Clercq, *Mémoires* (see n. 34), vol. 4, p. 66f.; Olivier de La Marche, *Mémoires*, eds. H. Beaune and J. d'Arbaumont, 4 vols. (Paris, 1883-1888), vol. 3, p. 3f.

the obvious *lignage* between Rubempré and the Croÿs.[40] To be honest, the Croÿs did not do much to combat the rumours.[41] Jean de Lannoy himself hoped that sooner or later they would cease, and give way to what he believed to be the truth.[42]

In this he was to be disappointed. All of Charles's publications were conducted in front of an ever-rising *noise* of *murmures, merveilles* and *suspicion*.[43] As Jacques Du Clercq notes, even the children on the town square of Arras, when playing at battle, were shouting 'Bourgogne', 'Estampes' (for the defiant John of Burgundy count of Étampes), and 'Croÿ' respectively.[44] Not least on the basis of a public opinion – and, more importantly, of an opinion of Duke Philip and his courtiers – which was more and more hostile to the Croÿs, Charles was able to seize all executive powers of the clan, notably in Namur, Luxembourg, Boulogne and Beaumont, but also at the court of his father in Brussels.[45] And this action, too, was accompanied by an orchestrated propaganda campaign, a manifesto sent to town counsels and other political key positions across the Burgundian Netherlands.[46] This exhaustive accusation against the Croÿs con-

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[40] Louis's embassy in Chastelain, *Œuvres* (see n. 34), vol. 5, pp. 113-123. Later communication campaigns of the same embassy can be found in A. de la Grange, ed., *Extraits analytiques des anciens registres des consaux de la ville de Tournai, 1431-1476* (Tournai, 1893), pp. 275-280. On the self-evidence of Rubempré's *lignage*, see Chastelain, *Œuvres* (see n. 34), vol. 5, pp. 87f., 90f. and 162ff.

[41] Chastelain claims that Antoine de Croÿ had an explicit disregard for these *paroles de gens*: Chastelain, *Œuvres* (see n. 34), vol. 5, p. 174.

[42] In a letter to Louis XI, dated 14 October 1464. De Lannoy and Dansaert, *Jean de Lannoy* (see n. 4), p. 289f.: *D'autre part, Sire, l'on dist que monseigneur de Carolois doit estre brief par deçà, mais que le procès du bâtard Reubempré soit fait. Je ne say che que sera; Dieu scet comment l'on parle chéans sux monsieur mon oncle et sux moy et quelle chose l'on dist de nous partout; y faut avoir passiense, ou tout ghaster et soy attendre à la vérité.*

[43] Chastelain, *Œuvres* (see n. 34), vol. 3, p. 324f., *ibidem*, vol. 4, pp. 348 and 398; Jehan de Wavrin, *Recueil des croniques et anchiennes istoires de la Grant Bretaigne, a présent nommé Engleterre*, eds. W. Hardy and E. Hardy, 5 vols. (London, 1864-1891), vol. 4, p. 446; Du Clercq, *Mémoires* (see n. 34), vol. 4, pp. 67 and 81.

[44] Jacques Du Clercq, *Mémoires* (see n. 34), vol. 4, p. 197f.

[45] See n. 32.

[46] Published by L. P. Gachard, ed., *Collection de documents inédits concernant l'histoire de la Belgique* (Bruxelles, 1833-1835), pp. 132-142. An impression of the conclusion, p. 139: *Finablement, ledit seigneur de Croÿ et les siens, par toutes les voyes et moyens qui leur ont esté et sont possibles, mescongnoissans, comme ingratz, les grans et excessifz biens et honneurs qu'ilz ont receuz de mondit seigneur et pere, leur seigneur et prince, ont contendu et contendent journelment de mectre à totale ruyne, ou au moins en dangier de guerre ou de grans inconveniens, les pays et seignouries de mondit seigneur et le bon et loyal peuple habitant et residens en iceulx.*

tains not only the well-known facts, but also detailed information about
motives and intentions as well as inhibited plots: information which it was
once again impossible to verify.[47] By thus destroying the public reputation
of the Croÿs, Charles was preparing the legitimisation of his own acts
against them.

The most important institutionalised forum in which the Burgundian
courtiers' reputations were negotiated was the chapter or general assembly
of the Order of the Golden Fleece. At each chapter meeting, the reputations
of the companion knights were examined during the session officially called
the *corrections*:[48]

> *Item, aura aussi la charge ledit chancellier, de par le souverain ou son*
> *commis, de enquerir et demander, audit chappitre, aux chevalliers de*
> *l'ordre qui y seront de l'estat du gouvernement d'ung chascun d'iceulx*
> *chevalliers qui pour ceste cause ystront, l'ung aprés l'autre, hors dudit*
> *chappitre. Et les oppinions ou deposicions desdiz chevalliers revellera*
> *et recitera pour par ledit souverain ou sondit commis y estre prinse*
> *conclusion; laquelle conclusion, soit qu'elle tende a recommendacion*
> *et loenge ou a correction, peinne et pugnicion, icelluy chancellier re-*
> *monstrera et prononcera sur le chevallier qui ce touchera.*[49]

This procedure was an expression of the Order's claim to moral superiority
worthy of true nobility. It was made clear that the foundations of chivalry's
pompous self-esteem were to be taken seriously. The mixture of moral
'trifles' such as a loose tongue, drinking problems or an exuberant love-life
on one hand with grave political irregularities and disputes on the other was
based on the idea that the quality of government proceeds from the sum of
personal qualities of those who govern – not only of their political abilities.
In 1516, when the count of Hornes was 'corrected' for his excessive love of
drinking, he was confronted with the gravity of the procedure:

> *Et pour ce que ledit seigneur de Hornes oyant lesdis remonstrances se*
> *prins a susrire, Dieu scet si monseigneur le chancellier en soy demos-*
> *trant homme vertueulx, sans dissimulacion luy blasma fermement et*
> *son ris et son vice, luy disant qu'il n'y avoit que rire, de sorte que ice-*
> *lui seigneur de Hornes recognoissant sa faulte, s'en demonstra tres-*
> *honteulx et desplaisant, et de cest acte feust monseigneur le chancellier*
> *par le roy et messieurs de l'ordre entre eulx fort recommandé.*[50]

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[47] Cf. Grunzweig, 'Namur et la guerre du bien public' (see n. 32), *passim*; W.
Paravicini, 'Moers, Croÿ, Burgund. Eine Studie über den Niedergang des Hauses
Moers in der zweiten Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts', in: *Annalen des Historischen
Vereins für den Niederrhein* 179 (Bonn, 1978), p. 32.

[48] The best analysis so far is in Vale, *War and Chivalry* (see n. 2), pp. 46-51.

[49] Statutes of the order in Dünnebeil, *Protokollbücher* (see n. 1), p. 207f., § 27 (after
the revision: officers § 3).

[50] Vienna, Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv, Archiv des Ordens vom Goldenen Vlies

Of course, the audience for this kind of examination of knightly behaviour was restricted to the members of the Order. For the individual knight, however, this did not diminish its importance or in fact change its nature, since the opinion of his fellow members was the opinion of those who counted politically in the Burgundian nobility.[51]

The general public, by contrast, was only involved in the gravest outcome of a *correction*: potential or actual exclusion from the Order. Thus, the lengthy negotiations of the Croÿs' comeback and ducal grace, which were to be concluded only months after the Order's celebration of 1468, were perceptible by their empty seats at the Order's public masses, and duly interpreted as a prolongation of their political purgatory.[52] In contrast, John count of Nevers (the former count of Étampes) was excluded from the Order at the same chapter.[53] In the middle of high mass, the wooden panel painted with his name and armorial bearings was taken from its place in the choir, the reasons for his exclusion were proclaimed aloud, and later the panel was painted over in black and put back in its place, with the text of the proclamation written *de grosse lettre bien lisable d'embas*.[54]

In 1481, a similar fate was reserved for the knights who had joined the service of the king of France after the death of Charles the Bold: Philippe de Crèvecœur, Jean de Neufchâtel, Philippe Pot, Jean de Damas and Jacob of Luxembourg.[55] While all the exclusions were proclaimed and the text painted over their armorial bearings, Philipe de Crèvecœur's text was to be attached to his panels in all of the churches that had served the Order during chapters at which he had been present, and his panel was to be hung upside down at the front of the church of St John's in Bruges.[56] This was the way in which the Order manifested someone's *memoria* – the bad memory next

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(hereafter: AOGV), Akten, Karton II, Nr. 8., part 4, fol. 18v.

[51] See W. Paravicini, 'Die zwölf „Magnificences" Karls des Kühnen', Reichenau-Kolloquium (in print), p. 51; and G. Melville, 'Rituelle Ostentation und pragmatische Inquisition. Zur Institutionalität des Ordens vom Goldenen Vliess' (sic!), in: G. Melville and H. Duchhardt, eds., *Im Spannungsfeld von Recht und Ritual. Soziale Kommunikation in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit* (Köln, 1997), pp. 215-272, here p. 266.

[52] AOGV (see n. 50), Akten, Karton I, Nr. 2, fols. 6-17, and Nr. 3, fols. 14-15 and 25. Outsider's perceptions in Chastelain, *Œuvres* (see n. 34), vol. 5, p. 376f., Jean de Wavrin, *Recueil des croniques* (see n. 43), vol. 5, p. 563; and Jean de Haynin, *Mémoires de Jean de Haynin*, ed. D. D. Brouwers, 2 vols., Collection de la Société des Bibliophiles de Belgique (Liège, 1905-1906), vol. 2, p. 15.

[53] Vale, *War and Chivalry* (see n. 2), p. 50f.

[54] AOGV (see n. 50), Akten, Karton I, Nr. 2, fols. 3vff. and 21. The same exchange was to take place in Dijon, *ibidem*, fol. 62v.

[55] AOGV (see n. 50), Akten, Karton I, Nr. 5, fols., 27-30 and *passim*. The case of Anthony, Bastard of Burgundy, was negotiated until 1501.

[56] AOGV (see n. 50), Akten, Karton I, Nr. 5, fols. 36 and 48.

to the good, since also the ordinary members' armorial bearings were present in the same church as manifestations of their exaltation through membership.[57]

Apparently manifest for eternity, the reputation of disgraced knights of the Order was sometimes considered worth altering even after their death – probably, one should think, just because of the eternity inherent in the public display of their defaced panels. In 1491, Adolph of Cleves and Louis of Bruges were accused, together with the deceased Wolfart of Borselen and Jacob of Savoy, of disloyal behaviour during the troubles in Ghent in the period of 1483-1485, when they were members of the regency council for Flanders.[58] They were presented with detailed written accusations, and given time until the next chapter to defend themselves.[59] As with the Croÿs 23 years earlier, their ongoing case was also visible at public ceremonies. Instead of making their offering at their place during the services of the Order's chapters, the king-of-arms Toison d'or merely made a slight bow to their empty seats.[60]

At the short meetings of November 1491 and May 1492, the case was not taken up again.[61] At the next full meeting of the chapter, however, held in January 1501 (n.st.), the accusations were taken up again. Louis and Adolph, having died in the meantime, were found to have failed to produce a suitable response.[62] At least in the case of Adolph, the chapter had initially decided to have his shield painted black with a text stating that he had not responded to the accusations, but later decided that since he had died, it would leave the judgement to God.[63] A few days later, however, the companion Louis of Luxembourg – who was married to Louis of Bruges's granddaughter – produced a detailed written defence.[64] Although the

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[57] The more or less complete sets of panels are still to be seen in Gent (1445), Saint-Omer (1461), Bruges (1468 and 1478), 's-Hertogenbosch (1481), Malines (1491) and Barcelona (1519). H. Kervijn de Lettenhove *et al.*, *Les Chefs-d'œuvre d'art ancien à l'Exposition de la Toison d'or à Bruges en 1907* (Bruxelles, 1908), p. 224; and F. Salet, 'La fête de la Toison d'Or de 1468', in: *Annuaire de la société royale d'archéologie de Bruxelles* 51 (1966), pp. 5-29, here p. 8f. (up to 1468 only).

[58] For the events, see W. Blockmans, 'Autocratie ou polyarchie? La lutte pour le pouvoir politique en Flandre de 1482 à 1492, d'après des documents inédits', in: *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* 140 (1974), pp. 257-368.

[59] For the common accusations, see AOGV (see n. 50), Akten, Karton II, Nr. 7, fols. 13-20v; for the version for Louis of Bruges, see *ibidem*, fols. 52-57v; Adolph's copy: *ibidem*, fols. 97-101; the prolongation: *ibidem*, fols. 57v-59 and 95v.

[60] *Ibidem*, fols. 63, 64 and 66.

[61] AOGV (see n. 50), Karton II, Nr. 8, first part, fols. 115vf. and 134vf.

[62] Both died in 1492.

[63] For Louis of Bruges, the protocol remains silent. *Ibidem*, fols. 33-34v.

[64] *Ibidem*, fol. 48v. The document is in AOGV (see n. 50), Akten, Karton VI. (The old manuscript inventory of Emanuel Joseph de Türck, *Inventaire des Archives de*

knights did not find its arguments convincing, they decided only to remove Louis's and Adoloph's panels, rather than to deface them with a text.[65] The next day, they added that the other panels ought to be rearranged to cover the gaps, *pour le moindre esclandre desdis trespassez et afin que en temps avenir il feust moins de memoire de ladite execucion.*[66] Step by step, the gravity of public blame was thus diminished. Nevertheless, *moins de memoire* does not mean no memory at all. The fact that Jean Molinet has included this rearrangement *comme se riens n'eust esté fait* in his account of the celebration transforms the deletion of memory into another event which was to be remembered, at least by the readers of his *Chroniques.*[67]

With the closing of the chapter, the negotiations over Adolph's and Louis's panels were still far from being concluded. Only a week later, Adolph's widow Anne of Burgundy produced for her deceased husband another detailed written defence quite similar to the one for Louis of Bruges.[68] Unlike Louis of Luxembourg before her, she pointed out that the defence had been written by Adolph in his lifetime and handed over to the Order, so that it was the Order's fault not to have reacted.[69] Apparently there was no answer to this intervention, because Anne presented herself to an assembly of some of the Order's members in April of the same year, this time with a longer *remonstrance* of her reasons.[70] Since such grave matters could not be decided outside a full meeting of the chapter, she even offered to pay for another such meeting. Although the Order in principle agreed to this solution, such a meeting never took place, because Duke Philip the Fair was expected to depart for Spain at any moment.[71]

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*l'Ordre de la Toison d'or qui se conservent à Bruxelles*, can be found in the Vienna archive, Handschriften und Drucke, Codex 34/1-3, and in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, mss. fr. 8999-9001. It gives a more precise classmark: seconde partie, § 2, no. 15F). The text is published in Sterchi, *Über den Umgang mit Lob und Tadel* (see n. 1).

[65] AOGV (see n. 50), Akten, Karton II, Nr. 8, first part, fol. 49.

[66] *Ibidem*, fol. 50.

[67] Jean Molinet, *Chroniques*, eds. G. Doutrepont and O. Jodogne, 3 vols. (Bruxelles, 1935-1937), vol. 2, p. 481.

[68] For her letter of presentation, see Vienna, AOGV (see n. 50), Akten, Karton VI; according to Türck (see n. 64): seconde partie § 2, no. 16 B. *Ibidem*, on the defence; according to Türck: seconde partie § 2, no. 15 F. The text is published in Sterchi, *Über den Umgang mit Lob und Tadel* (see n. 1).

[69] On the basis of the present evidence it is impossible to find out whether she was right. It is evident that one of the two defendants has copied largely from the other. The date, however, remains uncertain.

[70] AOGV (see n. 50), Akten, Karton VI; according to Türck (see n. 64): seconde partie § 2, no. 16 B. The intervention itself is mentioned in the protocol, AOGV, Akten, Karton II, Nr. 8, first part, fols. 78v-80.

[71] *Ibidem*, fol. 80.

Even then the last word was not spoken. In September 1501, during negotiations about Philip the Fair's passage through France on his way to Spain, as well as about the question whether Anthony, Bastard of Burgundy, should return his Order of St Michael to the French king, the French ambassador used his position of power to demand the restitution of the two panels in the choir of the Carmelite church in Brussels, where the chapter of 1501 had been held.[72] While the Order was not against the restitution as such, the question remained how to communicate it without dishonour for the Toison d'or itself. More precisely, the question was how to make sure it was taken as an act of grace and not of revocation or acquittal. For this reason, while the ambassador was only informed of the restitution of the panels, *pour eviter l'esclandre de l'ordre*, they in fact reappeared with the following text attached:

> Mon tresredoubté seigneur monseigneur l'archiduc de Bourgoingne, chief et souverain de l'ordre du Thoison d'or, par l'adviz de messeigneurs les chevaliers ses confreres, sur la pryere et requeste du roy treschrestien et pour luy complaire, a consenti ce tableau estre remis en ce lieu.[73]

Of course, the French ambassador was outraged and immediately demanded the removal of the texts, to which the Order consented without hesitation. But, as the greffier Laurent Du Blioul put it, during the twenty-four hours of display, over six thousand people had seen the texts, and many had copied them out. Therefore, not only did everybody know the restitution of the panels to have constituted an act of grace, but equally recognised the removal of the text to be a second act of grace. Among those who had copied out the texts was once again the official *indiciaire* Jean Molinet, who seems to have been very aware of the nature of explicit 'non-sentences' which, as long as they were remembered as such, contributed as much to the memory of blame as any 'real' sentence.[74]

Molinet's role in the creation and preservation of reputation is manifest in several passages of his *Chroniques*. Thus he narrates a procedure similar to the Order's *corrections* in the words of a critic of the court:

> Des tourbillons d'envie et de l'horrible vent soutil de court, qui incessamment traveille les nobles vertueux haulz hommes, fut angoisseuument acueilliét Baouduin de Lannoy, seigneur de Molembaix et de Sorre, chevalier de la Thoison d'Or, chambellan de monseigneur l'archiduc d'Autrice, governeur de Lille et de Bouchain.[75]

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[72] *Ibidem*, fols. 80-84v.

[73] *Ibidem*, fol. 83v.

[74] Molinet, *Chroniques* (see n. 67), vol. 2, p. 482.

[75] *Ibidem*, pp. 540-542.

Baudouin, confronted with various unfavorable rumours, asked permission to defend himself in front of Maximilian, and not least by making the accusations public and by asking for someone to take the part of the accuser, he managed to have his reputation officially restored. How far Molinet's insistence on the virtues of Baudouin was influenced by his sympathies, is open to speculation. Much later, he invokes the same person in his *Gaiges retrenchiés*, and asks him to intervene in his favour before Philip the Fair.[76]

Similar is the case of Josse de Lalaing. Molinet tells how Josse's son Charles, *homme d'esperit, fort actif et de grand poursieute*, demanded an enquiry into the *Mémoires* of Olivier de La Marche, since they contained an unfavorable passage about Josse's service during the Ghent revolt of 1483.[77] A committee consisting of Charles de Croÿ, Pierre de Lannoy and Claude de Bonart was invested with the research, as a result of which Olivier de La Marche's widow and any other owner of a manuscript of the *Mémoires* were asked to erase the passage. Indeed, it does not survive in any of the ten existing manuscripts.[78] What does survive, however, is a leaflet stuck to one of the pages of a copy – of all texts – of Adolph of Cleve's defence mentioned above:

> *Nota que depuis ceste St. Jehan iiij$^{xx}$ et troix, messire Josse de Lalaing cognoist que en lui n'estoit plus de savoir mener et conduire les Ganthois a l'obeyssance de monseigneur d'Austrice, ne aussi de savoir retirer monseigneur l'archiduc son filz dudit Gand, se retira vers ledit duc d'Austrice son bon maistre, lequel l'envoya en Hollande dont il estoit gouverneur preprarer la guerre et siege d'Utrecht, ou il le suyt en personne. Et ledit de Lalaing estant lieutenant general de toutte son armée, le v$^e$ jour d'Aoust audit an iiij$^{xx}$ iij audit siege fut attaint de deux colps de hacquebutte dont il morut. Et peu au paravant les Ganthois, luy estant en ladit guerre, menerent et constraindirent monseigneur de Ravestaing, monseigneur de Beures et aultres a l'Escluse, et firent tant que Josse de le Houstine, lieutenant dudit messire Josse audit chasteau, leur rendit, en demourant luy mesmes le cappitaine, et osterent audit messire Josse tous ses offices et estatz qu'il avoit au pais de Flandres, lesquelles choses venues a sa congnoissance luy donnerent ceur de pourchasser la fin de la guerre d'Utrecht, pour avecq l'ayde de son maistre soy vengier des Flamengs et de son traictre lieutenant.*[79]

The account of the treason of Josse de Lalaing's lieutenant does not fit the content of the respective pages more than loosely – the reason for its in-

[76] C. J. Brown, *Poets, Patrons and Printers. Crisis of Authority in Late Medieval France* (Ithaca, 1995), pp. 221-223.

[77] Molinet, *Chroniques* (see n. 67), vol. 2, pp. 546-548.

[78] Olivier de La Marche, *Mémoires* (see n. 39), vol. 1, p. cvijf.

[79] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 18997, fol. 53bis.

clusion seems to be the presentation of this 'enlarged' version of Adolph's defence amongst the documents presented to the committee dealing with Josse.[80] Turning back to Molinet with this knowledge, a close reading of the account of the *leal chevalier*'s death before Utrecht is revealing. After a lengthy description of Josse's virtues, Molinet delivers his supposedly last words to Maximilian:

> *Monseigneur, je suis en povre estat. Se j'eusse volut estre meutin, je ne fusse pas en ce point. Vous perdez aujourd'huy ung leal serviteur. Veez icy moy .V^e. ou .VIe. de frères, tous mors aux services de leurs princes. Je vous prie avoir pour recommandé ma femme et mes enfans.*[81]

Only those who knew the whole story would understand why Josse made such a distinction between himself and a *meutin*. Every other reader would remember only the *bon preudhomme, [...], fort vertueux, plain de proesse et chevalier sans reproce*. For them, Charles de Lalaing had successfully re-established the reputation of his *maison*. The committee's decision is to be found in another manuscript in the possession of the family.[82] On the other hand, in 1582 people still wrote about Charles de Lalaing's request.[83] Thus, the short memory of Josse de Lalaing's presumed treason was replaced with a long-lasting memory of his son's activities to guard the family's reputation.

It should be clear from the foregoing that the creation of reputation was not only a central, but an institutionalised activity in the society of the Burgundian court, where the political and the moral were strongly intertwined. Both the Order of the Golden Fleece and the chroniclers played a major role in this process. By connecting people with values, the creation of reputation constituted the essential link between ideology and political life. It was also the individual's reputation which united his nobility by virtue – demanded and recognised by society – with his nobility by birth – which tied him to the other members of his family, living and dead, and both allowed and obliged them to participate in his public reputation. The in-

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[80] *Ibidem*, fol. 1, contains the signature *Lalaing*, although in a much later hand. According to Molinet, Charles de Lalaing did actually present documents to the committee.

[81] Molinet, *Chroniques* (see n. 67), vol. 1, p. 421.

[82] Molinet, *Chroniques* (see n. 67), vol. 1, p. 71f., with reference to the edition by Henri Stein, 'Étude biographique, littéraire et bibliographique sur Olivier de La Marche', in: *Mémoires couronnés et mémoires des savants étrangers, publiés par l'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique* 49 (1888), pp. 1-237, here p. 230f., and a correction of the location in the archive of the city of Antwerp: *Catalogue Moons-van-Lerius-van den Straelen*, no. 67: *Rolle van de Quaze wuelt*.

[83] *Mémoires sur Valenciennes* (Archives de l'État de Mons), II, fol. 501, quoted in Stein, 'Étude biographique' (see n. 82), p. 115, n. 2.

terests of noble families in maintaining the congruence between the two types of nobility among their members were the guiding principle of the post-mortem alternations of the reputation of deceased members who had fallen into disgrace. People like Louis of Luxembourg, Anne of Burgundy and Charles de Lalaing clearly thought such alterations not only possible, but worth considerable effort to achieve. It must be assumed that their interest in doing so was not only related to their relative's claim to memorial prayers in order to gain eternal rest, but also to their own profit, be it in building economic prosperity or in building social capital. In order to appreciate the impact of reputation as a value, it has to be borne in mind that this profit – or loss – also depended on the power of the contemporary mentality, in which individual and family reputations were inextricably interwoven.

This does not mean, however, that what the accused knights feared most was not the reproach directed at their own person,[84] even at a moment when their own career was reaching conclusion. For them, the potential eternity of such a reproach was existential, it did make them fear for their personal *bonne renommée aprèz la mort* and their *vraie glore infinie*. Adolph of Cleve's and Louis of Bruges's mention of concerns about the future beyond their death, even if it is a motive of persuasion, must have sounded plausible to their fellow knights of the Order – otherwise they would not have used it as *indignatio*:

> *Et ceulx qui telz langaiges ont mis par escript a la cerge dudit seigneur de Ravestain ont indiscretement procedé, en tant que ledit escript se trouvera tousjours au registre de l'ordre, lequel par fortune ou autrement peut thumber en main estrange, et pourra estre que ceulx qui le trouveroient l'interpreteront a leur plaisir, par quoy, a parler soubz correction, telles accusacions frivoles contre verité vauldroient mieulx teues que mises avant.*[85]

Although the archives of the Order of the Golden Fleece never met – and never will meet – the interest of a *grand public*, this most explicit concern of two *elder statesmen* for their place in history includes their idea of the process of history-writing itself. What they are trying to influence with the inclusion of this paragraph within a controversial review of their political life is the creation and alteration of their reputation, as it was done by the Order's *corrections*, by *indiciaires* like Jean Molinet, or by *mains estranges* like our own.

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[84] Vale, *War and Chivalry* (see n. 2), p. 27.
[85] Adolph of Cleve's defence (see n. 68), fol. 14v. The same paragraph in Louis of Bruges's defence (see n. 64), fol. 39v.

# RHETORIC, POLITICS AND PROPAGANDA

## GUILLAUME FILLASTRE'S SPEECHES

### Malte Prietzel

'So the bishop of Tournai sang the high mass. Afterwards, he pronounced a little sermon to the greatest praise of the deceased lord and with the intention to urge everybody to pray for his soul, so that God, by his holy mercy, would receive it in his holy paradise'.[1] With these words, Jean de Wavrin summarised the funeral oration which Guillaume Fillastre, bishop of Tournai, had pronounced at the obsequies of Philip the Good in June 1467. Another witness, Jacques Du Clercq, also mentioned this speech, calling it 'a very remarkable sermon'.[2] An official report judged that 'the bishop of Tournai held a speech in a very remarkable way and to the highest praise of the deceased lord'.[3]

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[1] *Si chanta l'evesque de Tournay la grant messe, aprez laquele il fist une petite collation a la loenge du trespasse, adfin de chascun plus esmouvoir a pryer pour son ame que Dieu par sa sainte grace vœille avoir en son saint paradis. Amen.* Jehan de Wavrin, seigneur du Forestel, *Recueil des chroniques et anchiennes istoires de la grant Bretaigne, à present nommé Engleterre*, eds. Sir W. Hardy and E. L. C. P. Hardy, Rerum britannicarum medii aevi scriptores 39, vol. 5 (London, 1891), p. 539. – The text of this oration is not extant, but probably a chapter in Fillastre's first 'Book of the Golden Fleece' is based on it. Guillaume Fillastre, 'Über Herzog Philipp den Guten von Burgund. Text und Kommentar', ed. M. Prietzel, in: *Francia* 24/1 (1997), pp. 83-121, here pp. 84-85. – The present article is mainly based on: M. Prietzel, *Guillaume Fillastre der Jüngere (1400/07-1473). Kirchenfürst und herzoglich-burgundischer Rat* (Stuttgart, 2001), pp. 407-416; Guillaume Fillastre, *Ausgewählte Werke. Mit einer Edition der Kreuzzugsbulle Pius' II. 'Ezechielis prophete'*, ed. M. Prietzel (Stuttgart, 2003). – I am much obliged to Helga Steinwede, who saw over this text.

[2] *L'evesque de Tournay, lequel y feit ung très notable sermon, auquel recommanda l'ame du duc es prieres des presents et de tout son peuple; laquelle Dieu par sa grace veuille mectre en sa gloire, a repos avecq les bons et loyaux chrestiens. Amen.* Jacques Du Clercq, *Mémoires sur le règne de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne*, ed. F.-A.-F.-T. baron de Reiffenberg, 5 vols. (Brussels, [2]1836), vol. 4, p. 306.

[3] *Et ... monseigneur de Tournay feit la collacion bien notablement a la tresgrande louenge dudit seigneur trespassé et pour enhorter le peuple de prier dieu pour lui.* Archives départementales de la Côte d'Or, B 310 (fol. 6v); printed: E.-L. Lory, ed., 'Les obsèques de Philippe-le-Bon, duc de Bourgogne, mort à Bruges en 1467', in:

Evidently, Fillastre's funeral sermon was an important part of the late duke's obsequies, and the mourning audience highly esteemed the preacher's words. On many other occasions speeches were pronounced at the fifteenth-century Burgundian court and by Burgundian diplomats in foreign countries, too. But while literature and historiography, tournaments and wedding celebrations, tapestries and illuminated manuscripts at the courts of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold have long attracted the attention of the historians, speeches aroused very little interest. To tradition-ally minded political historians, orations seemed to be just words, and did not exercise an influence on the course of events. Hence they were believed to have no impact on history. Even worse, many speeches were clearly meant to convince the audience of the orator's opinion, and hence described facts from a very partial point-of-view. Some speeches even deliberately spread lies. Thus, most orations were not deemed reliable sources, and could therefore be of no use to political history.

In the last years, however, some speeches have attracted the attention of a few historians who are concerned with intellectual or literary history. Arjo Vanderjagt and Wim Blockmans, for example, examined speeches made by Charles the Bold and Guillaume Hugonet, thereby clearly demonstrating the enormous impact of humanistic political philosophy on Burgundian political ideas in the 1460s and 1470s.[4] Evencio Beltran was attracted by a couple of Burgundian pre-humanists, who, as he claims, helped French humanism to survive during the difficult period between its first blossoming at the beginning of the fifteenth century and before its final breakthrough in the years around 1500.[5] In her fascinating biography of Jean Jouffroy, one of the most famous orators at the Burgundian court, Claudia Märtl also examined Jouffroy's orations.[6]

I would like to approach the speeches pronounced at the Burgundian court and by Burgundian diplomats in the third quarter of the fifteenth century in a different manner. I shall not concentrate on new, humanistic elements in orations, neither with regard to their contents, nor according to

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*Mémoires de la Commission des antiquaires de la Côte-d'Or* 7 (1869), pp. 215-246, here p. 244.

[4] A. J. Vanderjagt, *'Qui sa vertu anoblist'. The Concepts of* noblesse *and* chose pu-blicque *in Burgundian Political Thought* (Groningen, 1981); W. Blockmans, 'Cris-me de leze magesté. Les idées politiques de Charles le Téméraire', in: J.-M. Duvos-quel, J. Nazet, and A. Vanrie, eds., *Les Pays-Bas bourguignons. Histoire et institu-tions. Mélanges André Uyttebrouck* (Brussels, 1996), pp. 71-81.

[5] E. Beltran, ed., *Nouveaux textes inédits d'humanistes français du XVe siècle. Édi-tion, introduction, notes et index* (Geneva, 1992); *idem*, 'L'humanisme français au temps de Charles VII et Louis XI', in: C. Bozzolo and E. Ornato, eds., *Préludes à la Renaissance. Aspects de la vie intellectuelle en France au XVe siècle* (Paris, 1992), pp. 123-162.

[6] C. Märtl, *Kardinal Jean Jouffroy († 1473). Leben und Werk* (Sigmaringen, 1996).

their style, but shall examine instead the importance of speeches for Bur-
gundian propaganda and self-awareness. I shall focus on the orations of
Guillaume Fillastre the younger, who, between 1454 and 1465, was not
only one of the most influential politicians at the Burgundian court, but also
its main propagandist.

Guillaume Fillastre the younger was born between 1400 and 1407. He
was the son of the well-known cardinal Fillastre, who played an important
role during the Great Schism and the Council of Constance. While still in
his boyhood years, the younger Fillastre became a benedictine monk in his
home town of Châlons-en-Champagne. He studied canon law at Bologna, at
Paris and finally at Louvain, where he took his doctor's degree in 1436.
Four years later, in 1440, he was appointed councillor of Philip the Good,
duke of Burgundy. It seems that Philip's wife, Isabella of Portugal, had
noticed Guillaume's skills, his intelligence and his humanistic predilections.
For the rest of his life, he remained a close confidant of the duchess. He
soon earned Philip's esteem, too. During the 1440s, Fillastre fulfilled
numerous diplomatic tasks at a number of European courts. Later, between
1454 and 1457, he acted as Philip's plenipotentiary at the Imperial Diets
which dealt with the question of a crusade against the Turks. In 1457, he
became President of the ducal Council (*chef du Conseil*) and thus held one
of the most powerful posts in the Burgundian state.

Philip the Good rewarded his loyal services most generously. Created
bishop first of Verdun in 1437, then of Toul in 1448/1449, he was trans-
ferred in 1460 to Tournai, the most important see within the Burgundian
state, and obtained the rich benedictine abbey of Saint-Bertin at Saint-
Omer. In 1461, the duke appointed him Chancellor of the Order of the
Golden Fleece. When Charles the Bold succeeded in his *coup d'état* of
March 1465, Fillastre lost most of his political influence, although he re-
tained the titles of Chancellor of the Golden Fleece and *chef du Conseil*.
During the last years of his life, he wrote a vast treatise on the moral and
theological bases of politics, to which he gave the rather misleading title
'Books of the Golden Fleece' (*Livres de la Toison d'or*). He died in 1473.[7]

Fillastre was not only a brilliant expert in law, a skilled diplomat and a
zealous prelate, but also a highly esteemed orator. Even Pope Pius II praised
his rhetorical skills.[8] Fillastre liked to deliver speeches, and his various

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[7] On Fillastre's career, see: M. Prietzel, *Guillaume Fillastre* (see n. 1). For his
*Livres de la Toison d'or*: *ibidem*, pp. 416-432; Fillastre, *Ausgewählte Werke* (see n.
1); E. Beltran and M. Prietzel, 'Le second chancelier de l'ordre: Guillaume Fillastre
II', in: P. Cockshaw and C. van den Bergen-Pantens, eds., *L'ordre de la Toison
d'Or, de Philippe le Bon à Philippe le Beau (1430-1505): idéal ou reflet d'une
société?* (Brussels/Turnhout, 1996), pp. 118-127.
[8] *Guilelmus, episcopus Tornacensis, professione monachus, legatorumque primus
longam et doctrina referctam orationem habuit.* Pius II, *Commentarii rerum memo-*

political and ecclesiastical duties offered him many occasions to use his oratorical gifts. He spoke in the course of diplomatic negotiations and at meetings of the Estates General, he preached at the chapters of the Golden Fleece, he addressed the pope, the emperor, the king of France, Imperial Diets, the clergy of his diocese, the canons of St Donatian at Bruges, and the monks of his abbey. Generally, he spoke French in the Burgundian Netherlands and in France, but Latin when he acted as the dukes' ambassador in Germany or Italy or when he addressed his words to foreign diplomats who had come to the Burgundian court.

In all, no less than 39 speeches of Fillastre were documented in the years between 1444 and his death in 1473, and he definitely held many more which are not mentioned in the sources. It is, for instance, far from plausible that his first documented speech, pronounced at the Imperial Diet at Nuremberg in 1444,[9] should have been the first one he ever delivered; Fillastre was already forty years old, and the text clearly gives proof of rhetorical experience. Also, a number of paragraphs in his 'Books of the Golden Fleece', which do not completely fit the line of his reasonings, seem to consist of speeches or parts of speeches, which he inserted into his major work; unluckily, it is not clear when exactly he had held these speeches.[10]

He thus had many possibilities to influence his audience, to convince people, to spread propaganda. Furthermore, while he was the most important Burgundian orator between 1454 and 1465, he was certainly not the only one. Other members of the court delivered addresses too: Jean Jouffroy, Jean de Croÿ, and sometimes even Duke Philip himself.[11] One

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*rabilium que temporibus suis contigerunt*, ed. A. van Heck, 2 vols. (Città di Vaticano, 1984), vol. 2, p. 755; Pius II, *I commentarii*, ed. L. Totaro, 2 vols. (Milan, 1984), vol. 2, p. 2394 (referring to Fillastre's 1463 address to the pope). Others, too, mentioned Fillastre's oratorical gifts: *Agréable homme et doux parlier*. Georges Chastelain, *Œuvres*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, 8 vols. (Brussels, 1863-1866), vol. 3, p. 333. *Qui de son temps a esté homme de vertuz, sage, prudent, eloquent, liberal, et de si grand sçavoir, qu'il fut chef de conseil du bon duc Philippe de Bourgogne.* R. de Wassebourg, *Antiquités de la Gaule belgique, Royaulme de France, Austrasie et Lorraine*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1549), fol. 486r. – *Eloquentia, prudentia, iuriumque dogmate clarissimus.* A. Calmet, *Histoire de Lorraine*, nouvelle édition, vol. 1 (Nancy, 1745), col. 236 (Chronicle of the bishops of Toul). – *Vir doctus et eloquens.* Bibliothèque Capitulaire de Tournai, B 3 (*Historia ecclesie Tornacensis*), fol. 285r.

[9] *Deutsche Reichstagsakten, Ältere Reihe*, vol. 17, ed. W. Kaemmerer (Göttingen, 1963), no. 166; J. Toussaint, *Les relations diplomatiques de Philippe le Bon et le concile de Bâle 1431-1449* (Louvain, 1942), pp. 265-281; cf. Prietzel, *Guillaume Fillastre* (see n. 1), pp. 77-78 and appendix 2, no. 1.

[10] For instance, a chapter about tournaments and a passage about the crusade: Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 9027, fols. 86v-90r; Fillastre, *Ausgewählte Werke* (see n. 1), text XI.

[11] Jouffroy: Märtl, *Jean Jouffroy* (see n. 6), pp. 332-351. – Jean de Croÿ: G.

should also bear in mind that many sermons – not sharply distinguishable
from political speeches on the basis of their form or content – were
delivered at court on Sundays and feastdays.[12]

Thus, orations were by no means extraordinary events at court. The fre-
quency with which they were used to convey political messages in the
Burgundian court derived in part from purely pragmatic considerations. To
begin with, compared to other forms of court ritual, orations needed very
few preparations, and cost almost nothing to stage. In addition, they in-
fluenced the audience directly, for at least speeches in the vernacular
languages could be understood by everyone who listened to them, and after
Latin orations, a translated version was generally delivered. So speeches
could be powerful means of propaganda.

Of the 39 documented speeches composed by Fillastre, only six still
exist in their original form and language; four of these are in Latin, and the
other two in French. The full contents of a seventh speech is preserved in a
French translation of a lost Latin original. Most of his speeches (32 out of
39) are only known because they are mentioned and sometimes paraphrased
(briefly or at length) in chronicles and various other kinds of texts – for
instance, in the records of diplomatic negotiations, or in the proceedings of
the chapters of the Golden Fleece. For this reason, we do not know exactly
what Fillastre said in most of the speeches of which we have any
knowledge.

If we want to appreciate the value of the seven extant texts, we have to
examine whether there is any particular reason why these texts still exist
and others do not. Accidental loss of documents by fire, war, and so on is
without any doubt one reason, but probably not the most important one. As
we shall see, the crucial question is not why some texts survived the five
centuries since Fillastre's death, but why some texts were preserved within
a few years after the speech had been delivered.

A closer look at the preserved copies of his speeches and at their
provenance shows that Fillastre himself gave copies of four Latin orations
to a few men whom he knew and who perhaps had asked him for this
favour. So Fillastre, a pre-humanist, imitated in a few cases the customs of

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Chastelain, *Chronique. Les Fragments du livre IV, révélés par l'Additional
Manuscript 54156 de la British Library*, ed. J.-C. Delclos (Geneva, 1991), pp. 175-
211; 'Chronique des Pays-Bas, de France, d'Angleterre et de Tournai', in: *Recueil
des chroniques de Flandre*, ed. J.-J. De Smet, vol. 3 (Brussels, 1856), pp. 111-570,
here pp. 537-553; U. Plancher, *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne*, vol.
4 (Dijon, 1781; repr. Farnborough, 1968), Preuves, pp. CCXXX-CCXXXV. – Duke
Philip: Chastelain, *Œuvres* (see n. 8), vol. 4, p. 439.

[12] For example, sermons were delivered on every feast in 1465/1466. Each preacher
received 24 shillings (i.e. 1 écu) from the duke's confessor Oudot le Roy. Archives
départmentales du Nord, B 2058, fols. 199v-200r.

many contemporary 'real' humanists. But it seems he ordered very few
copies even of the few speeches that were treated in this way. Of three of
the four Latin orations that have been preserved, only a single copy
survives;[13] by contrast, eight copies of the fourth speech – his 1463 address
to Pius II – still exist.[14] These Latin speeches were of interest because of
their literary value: they were written in humanistic style and contained
several fashionable topics, especially concerning the holy war against the
Turks.

Copies of some of Fillastre's French orations, on the contrary, were pre-
served for merely pragmatic reasons. The three extant texts – the two
original French speeches[15] as well as the translation of a Latin speech[16] –
contained many facts about different problems of foreign policy, and could
therefore be used at the Burgundian court as documents on diplomatic nego-
tiations. To this very purpose, Fillastre himself translated a Latin text, for it
was easier to work with it – most of the nobles at the Burgundian court did
not read Latin. In similar circumstances, the court sometimes preferred to
keep a long French paraphrase of a speech, not a translation; the wording,
after all, was less important than the contents.[17] But most of the speeches
pronounced during diplomatic negotiations were not considered to be worth
preserving, either in their actual wording or even in a long paraphrase.

From all this, we must conclude that only a few people were interested
in possessing written texts of Fillastre's speeches. We must conclude in
addition that, neither the Burgundian court nor the orator himself tried to
preserve the text of Fillastre's speeches, let alone to spread them systemat-
ically. It must therefore appear that most of Fillastre's speeches were in-
tended to be a purely oral medium of conveying propaganda and informa-
tion.

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[13] München, Staatsbibliothek, clm 85, fols. 485v-490v (Nuremberg, 1444), edited in
*Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, vol. 17 (see note 9); Prague, Archives of the Cathedral
Chapter, G XX, fols. 183r-189r (Prague, 1454), ed.: *Deutsche Reichstagsakten,
Ältere Reihe*, vol. 19/1, eds. H. Weigel and H. Grüneisen (Göttingen, 1969), pp.
410-415; Dijon, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 835, fols. 21r-27v (Rome, 1465), ed.:
G. Fillastre, 'Oratio ad papam Paulum secundum', in: Beltran, *Nouveaux textes
inédits* (see n. 5), pp. 157-169.
[14] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 7575-85, fols. 90r-97v; Paris, Bibliothèque
Nationale de France, ms. fr. 3887, fols. 225r-228v, and Cinq Cents de Colbert 64,
pp. 926-938 (not complete); Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 374, fols.
45v-47r (not complete), fols. 154r-160v, ms. 661, fols. 87r-91r, ms. 746/1, fols. 70r-
73r; Trier, Bibliothek des Bischöflichen Priesterseminars, Hs. 44, fols. 180r-185v;
cf. Fillastre, *Ausgewählte Werke* (see n. 1), nos. 5-11.
[15] Fillastre, *Ausgewählte Werke* (see n. 1), text I, text IV.
[16] *Ibidem*, text V.
[17] *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, vol. 19/1 (see n. 13), pp. 301-305 (Fillastre's speech
at the Diet at Ratisbon, 1454).

As the small number of copies of Fillastre's orations that were prepared were hardly capable of influencing either Burgundian self-awareness or the image of the Burgundian state abroad, the impact of his speeches depended entirely on the impression they made on their audience. In consequence, the orator's rhetorical skills were of decisive importance. Although we know from the praise of several of his contemporaries that Fillastre was a very accomplished orator,[18] we do not have a clear image of how he delivered his speeches. We can deduce from his speeches that he spoke an elegant Latin, but that he could not compete in this medium with the great humanists of his time, let alone Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who was to become Pope Pius II. His French style excelled by its force and its vivacity. When he translated the papal crusading bull *Ezechielis prophete* in 1464, he even managed to make an elegant French text out of long Latin sentences.[19]

Not only the style, but the contents of Fillastre's orations must have been important for the impression his speeches made on the listeners. In this area, however, he broke little new ground. An examination of the philosophical background of his speeches will quickly reveal its wholly traditional character. There is no trace in them of the new political ideas which Hugonet and others expressed during Charles the Bold's reign.[20] Fillastre's speeches also contributed nothing new to the established themes of Burgundian propaganda. They merely repeated its well-known leitmotif: that the duke was the ideal prince, a perfect knight, the founder of the most prestigious community of knights (the Order of the Golden Fleece), a defender of the faith and of the pope, and both the highest-ranking and the most loyal of the princes of France. Fillastre's favourite topic was, without any doubt, the crusade. In at least six important speeches, he praised at length Philip's constant and heroic efforts to lead a war against the enemies of the Christian faith.[21]

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[18] Cf. above, note 8.

[19] Fillastre, *Ausgewählte Werke* (see n. 1), texts III a and b (Latin text and French translation).

[20] In his 'Books of the Golden Fleece', the author explicitly declared that his political ideas were based on the doctrines of Aristotle, Thomas Aquinas and Aegidius Romanus. For example, in the Third Book: *En parlant de ceste vertu, je me fonderay principalement en la doctrine de Gilles de Romme en son livre du gouvernement des princes, lequel se fonde en Aristote en son livre des Ethicques. Je ensievray aussy la doctrine du saint docteur monseigneur saint Thomas d'Acquin, qui se fonde non seulement sur Aristote, mais aussy sur les dictz des sains docteurs de l'Esglise.* Kopenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, Thott 465, fol. 84 v.

[21] To King Ladislaus of Bohemia and his court, between 18 and 30 April 1454. Cf. above, note 13. – At the Imperial Diet at Ratisbon, 21 May 1454. Texts: *Deutsche Reichtagsakten*, vol. 19/1 (see n. 13), pp. 291-305, and *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini 1431-1454*, ed. R. Wolkan, vol. 3, Fontes Rerum Austriacarum II, 67 (Vienna, 1918), pp. 556-560. – At the Diets at Frankfort, between 17 and 26

If Fillastre's speeches lacked originality with regard to political philosophy as well as to the elements of Burgundian self-awareness, this does not mean that they were not efficacious means of propaganda. Successful propaganda always involves the constant repetition of a limited number of basic ideas presented in skilfully contrived variations. And Fillastre was in fact very imaginative and resourceful in his creation of variations of the traditional topics. In 1444, for instance, he compared Duke Philip, who had always supported the pope against the Council of Basel, to the apostle Philip, 'who was the first to lead the heathens to Jesus'.[22]

Perhaps the best proof of Fillastre's rhetorical inventiveness can be found in his answer to a French ambassador in 1459.[23] In the whole speech, Fillastre employed a rather clever strategy. He formally and explicitly acknowledged the king's rights as a sovereign and as the head of the Valois dynasty. At the same time, however, in an implicit and most polite way and by using many citations from the Bible and classical authors, he made it clear that Philip had rights independent of his relationship to the French king. For example, Fillastre explained that while Philip was indeed, as the ambassador had said, a member of the French royal dynasty,[24] he held only the duchy of Burgundy because of this; the current duke's grandfather Philip the Bold had received the duchy from his father King John II as his part of the monarch's inheritance. By contrast, Fillastre argued in a rather daring manner, Philip the Good had inherited his various other principalities from four ladies called Margaret: Margaret of Artois, Margaret of Flanders,

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October 1454, and at Wiener Neustadt, 20 January 1455. Mentioned: Pius II, *Opera inedita*, ed. G. Cugnoni, Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Anno 1882/1883 (Rome, 1883), p. 111; *Deutsche Reichstagsakten, Ältere Reihe*, vol. 19/2, ed. J. Helmrath (forthcoming), no. 63, § 5c; H. Müller, *Kreuzzugspläne und Kreuzzugspolitik des Herzog Philipp des Guten von Burgund* (Göttingen, 1993), p. 77, including note 54. – To Pope Pius II, 19 Sept. 1463. Text: Fillastre, *Ausgewählte Werke* (see n. 1), text II. – To Pope Paul II, autumn 1465. *Ibidem*, text V. – Cf. Prietzel, *Guillaume Fillastre* (see n. 1), appendix 2, nos. 8, 9, 11, 12, 19, 26. – The crusade against the Turks is also the only topic of fifteenth-century politics which Fillastre mentions several times in his 'Books of the Golden Fleece'. The most interesting passage is: Fillastre, *Ausgewählte Werke* (see n. 1), text XI.

[22] *Habetis et inclitum Philippum Burgundie atque Brabantie ducem ... velut alterum Philippum, qui primo gentes adduxit ad Jhesum. Deutsche Reichstagsakten, Ältere Reihe*, vol. 17 (see n. 9), p. 349, lines 31-33.

[23] Fillastre, *Ausgewählte Werke* (see n. 1), text I.

[24] *... mondit seigneur remercie le roy nostre seigneur le plus humblement qu'il peut qu'il lui plaist l'avoir et congnoistre pour son humble parent et party de sa tres chrestienne maison, car il est vray que le roy et lui sont en pareil degré de consanguinité a l'estoc dont ilz sont partiz, c'est assavoir du tres preux et tres noble roy de glorieuse memoire feu le roy Jehan cui dieu pardoint. Et encores plus lui remercie de l'onneur qu'il lui a fait quant, comme vous dictes, il le repute pour filz.* Fillastre, *Ausgewählte Werke* (see n. 1), text I, § 13.

Margaret of Brabant and Margaret of Wittelsbach. Finally the orator pointed out that Philip had simply bought the county of Namur.[25]

Fillastre preferred to disguise the conclusion of his lengthy enumeration by playing with the double sense of three words: *marguerite*, which in medieval French was not only a woman's christian name, but also designated a flower (a white ox-eye); *fleur-de-lis*, which designated the natural lily as well as the heraldic figure of the royal coat-of-arms derived from an iris; and finally *chappellet*, which designated a wreath of flowers as well as a diadem. Fillastre said: 'It is clear that God made the *chappellet* of the principalities, which he [Philip] owns, of these four *marguerites* and the three *fleurs-de-lis*'.[26] On the one hand, this meant that Philip's diadem – representing his right to rule his principalities – emanated not only from the king, but also from the laws of succession: and these laws, everybody would understand, did not depend on the king's mercy. On the other hand, Fillastre compared Philip's principalities to a mere wreath of four white ox-eyes and three lilies. He explained the meaning of this wreath by elaborating a different allegory: the four ox-eyes (which were rather ordinary flowers) designated the four cardinal virtues, which, as he explained, were needed to conduct one's life on earth. By contrast the three lilies, which he called 'noble' flowers, represented the three theological virtues, upon which depended the salvation of the soul.[27] Fillastre's listeners were probably not very surprised to hear that Duke Philip possessed all seven of these virtues.[28]

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[25] *Par ainsi est de la maison de France descendu, comme il vous appert, et est venu a la duchié de Bourgoingne par le moyen de mondit seigneur le duc Phelippe; par madame Marguerite, dicte madame d'Artois, a la conté d'Artois et de Bourgoingne, et monseigneur de Nevers aux contés de Nevers et de Rethel; par madame Marguerite de Flandres est venu mondit seigneur a la conté de Flandres; par madame Marguerite de Brabant a la duchié de Brabant, de Lembourg et de Lothier; et aux seignouries de Haynnau, Hollande, Zellande et Frise est venu par madame Marguerite de Bavieres, fille de Haynnau; a Namur par acquest et achat qu'il en a fait.* Fillastre, *Ausgewählte Werke* (see n. 1), text I, § 17.

[26] *Ainsi appert que de ces quatre Marguerites et de trois nobles fleurs de liz lui a fait dieu le chappellet des seignouries et biens qu'il tient.* Fillastre, *Ausgewählte Werke* (see n. 1), text I, § 18.

[27] *Lesquelles seignouries il conduit et gouverne moyennant la grace de dieu, par ces quatre Marguerites et par ces trois nobles fleurs de liz qui sont sept fleurs en nombre, dont est ce chappellet fait, signiffians les sept vertuz par lesquelles vertus seignourie se peut facilement conduire et sans lesquelles n'est pas bien facile la entretenir. – Les quatre Marguerites sont les quatres vertus cardinales, c'est assavoir prudence, force, attrempance et justice, qui regardent la conduite des affaires terriens. Et les trois nobles fleurs de liz sont les trois vertus theologiques, assavoir foy, esperance et charité, qui regardent la conduite de l'ame.* Fillastre, *Ausgewählte Werke* (see n. 1), text I, § 18-19.

[28] Fillastre, *Ausgewählte Werke* (see n. 1), text I, § 20-26.

Fillastre's speeches were not only efficacious because of the orator's inventiveness, but also because of their close relation to ceremonies. The best example of this relationship is an event reported by the chronicler Chastelain.[29] One day in June 1468, after mass, the duke entered a room where Jean Lefèvre, king-of-arms of the Order of the Golden Fleece, wearing the crown and the other insignia of his office, was waiting for him. Lefèvre knelt down. Then Fillastre, the Chancellor of the Golden Fleece, delivered a short speech. Lefèvre, he said, had served for 36 years as the king-of-arms of the Order and the Burgundian State. Now he was too old and too ill to perform his duties. Therefore, he asked to be discharged, although he deeply regretted giving up this noble office and leaving the duke's service. Fillastre went on to explain that a pursuivant (a lower-ranking herald) called Fusil, who was also present, had been educated and instructed by Lefèvre, and thus was capable of succeeding him, provided that the duke was willing to appoint him to that office. According to Chastelain's description, the duke answered that he would accept Fusil as his new king-of-arms. He declared at the same time that he deeply regretted Lefèvre's decision to leave his service, and added that the old man would always be welcome at court. The king-of-arms then gave his crown to the duke, who put it on the head of Fusil and christened him Toison d'Or. At that point, Fillastre fell on his knees and besought the duke to make Lefèvre a knight, because, as he said, the old king-of-arms wanted to end his days bearing this prestigious title. Charles agreed, someone gave him a sword, and the duke dubbed Lefèvre to knighthood.

This is how an average Burgundian courtier must have witnessed the ceremony. But Chastelain tells us more about it. Fillastre, Chancellor of the Golden Fleece, and a number of noblemen had interceded with the duke on behalf of Lefèvre. Charles the Bold had agreed to discharge him, to appoint Fusil as his successor and even to make Lefèvre a knight. So the ceremony – which must have seemed spontaneous to by-standers – was in fact well-arranged. It took place at a wisely chosen time: after mass, because then a considerable number of the courtiers who had assisted at the divine service would be present. It had even been assured that a sword could be given to the duke in the right moment – the noblemen at court surely did not usually wear their swords when they attended mass.

By chance, we know even more about the background than the court historiographer himself – or at least, more than he tells us. A few weeks before, a chapter of the Golden Fleece had taken place. On that occasion, Lefèvre had demanded substantial financial compensations in case he should agree to retire from his office. Above all, he had claimed that he would continue to get his full pay. He also emphasised that the office of

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[29]  Chastelain, *Œuvres* (see n. 8), vol. 5, pp. 381-384.

king-of-arms Toison d'Or was the most prestigious office for a herald in the whole of Christianity and that he had been appointed to it for life.[30] Evidently, Lefèvre did not want to retire, but the duke urged him to do so. The old man probably was no longer able to fulfil his duties. But neither Charles the Bold nor the king-of-arms wanted anyone to know that the retirement was a consequence of pressure. So the ceremony was staged.

Under these circumstances, Fillastre had time enough to find the appropriate words, and his speech eventually fitted the situation perfectly. Chastelain's paraphrase probably shortens it, but nevertheless seems to cling to its wording.

The orator began: 'Look here, this is Toyson d'Or, king-of-arms of the most high and most noble order of the Golden Fleece, which your father (whom God may absolve) founded and established ...'[31] Then Fillastre pointed out that Lefèvre had served as king-of-arms for 36 years. It was not necessary to tell all this to Charles the Bold who had known Lefèvre for a long time. Nor did Fillastre have to convince the duke that Lefèvre's claims were reasonable and well-deserved, for Charles had already agreed to what was to happen. Therefore, it is clear that Fillastre only pretended to speak to the duke, and that his words were in fact intended for the by-standers.

If a deaf man had watched the ceremony, he would have understood from the gestures of the persons the juridical essence of the ceremony: a king-of-arms gave up his office and was dubbed, a new king-of-arms was appointed. He might also have known some of the persons involved. He

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[30] *L'office de conseiller et roy d'armes de la Thoyson d'or, laquelle office est la plus belle et la plus honnourable de la chrestienté pour ung officier d'armes et sy est a la vye de cellui qui en est conseillier et officier, et par ainsy, se cellui qui de present en est officier la delaissoit, ce seroit par les condicions qui s'ensuivent: Primo que il seroit assigné des gaiges ou pension dudit office de l'ordre de la Thoison d'or montans a 157 l. 10 s. – Item vouldroit avoir l'office de conterolle [!] du grenier a seel d'Abbeville pour le donner a l'un de ses enffans. – Item et avec ce vouldroit avoir la moittié des gaiges des chevaliers dudit ordre de la Thoison d'or montant par an a 30 escus. – Item et avec ce vouldroit voir, s'il vivoit tant que la feste de l'ordre se tenist devant sa mort, la moittié de tous les prouffis qui en viendroient, et pour chascune fois qu'elle se tenroit durant sadite vye.* Beneath these lines, by a second hand: *Ceste cedule a esté leue en chapitre de l'ordre a la requeste de Thoison d'or, roy d'armes, et present Fusil le herault. Apres laquelle lecture Fusil, en tant que ce lui touche, l'a aggree ou cas que le plaisir de monseigneur ledit duc sera de l'en ottroyer l'estat par la resignacion dudit Thoison d'or.* On the backside, by the first hand: *Cedule baillee par Jehan Le Fevre, roy d'armes de l'ordre de la Thoison d'or.* By a third hand: *l'an 68.* Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale, Chiflet 87, fol. 54r, single sheet, probably from the Order's archives.

[31] *Mon très-redoubté seigneur, veez-cy Toyson-d'Or, roy d'armes de vostre très-haut et très-noble ordre de la Toyson d'or, que feu de très-noble et très excellente mémoire, monseigneur vostre père, que Dieu absoille! édifia et mit sus ...* Chastelain, *Œuvres* (see n. 8), vol. 5, pp. 382-383.

might even have judged that the incident was quite important. But only someone who could listen to Fillastre's words would gather the whole meaning of the ceremony.

The bishop's speech described the feigned motives of the actors in the little drama. These feigned motives were indeed more likely to augment the glory of Charles the Bold than the real ones. Fillastre presented to the public the result of a bargain between prince and subject as a spontaneous act of grace which the generous duke granted to a loyal servant. He thus disguised the truth in order to emphasise the duke's magnificence. But the function of his words was not limited to that.

The orator also linked this particular action to generally admitted values and firm beliefs and, by this, contributed to their general acceptance. For example, he referred to the well-known convictions that the Order of the Golden Fleece was the most prestigious one in the world and that being dubbed a knight was the greatest honour a lay person could aspire to. Furthermore the orator did not mention these basic convictions explicitly, but just alluded to them. He thereby treated them like established truths.[32]

Moreover, Fillastre's words and the dukes's action complemented one another. Only the speech and the gestures as a whole gave the ceremony its full meaning and impact. Only as a whole did they make it clear that Charles the Bold was magnificent, that he was devoted to chivalric values, and that he cared very much for the Order of the Golden Fleece.

This close interaction between speech and ceremony can be observed at many occasions. In 1461, for instance, a few days before the coronation of Louis XI, Fillastre pronounced a speech on the occasion of Philip the Good's solemn reception by the archbishop and the magistrate of Reims. This celebration was due to the duke's position as a prince of the blood. Fillastre's oration added to the reception an aspect which was very important for the Burgundians. He reminded his audience that a few years ago, Louis had taken refuge with his uncle. He thus let know that Philip had played an important role in the life of the kingdom, and everybody could easily guess that the duke intended to keep on doing so.[33]

As King Louis XI was not willing to share his prerogatives with anybody, this oration had no immediate political impact. In fact, few of Fillastre's speeches had, and none of them made his adversaries suddenly change their mind. But his speech at Reims, like some of his other addresses, may have had an indirect effect. It was not only important what Fillastre said and whether he convinced his audience, but also that he spoke and how he did so. A rich and powerful prince like Philip the Good had to manifest his exalted rank not only by wearing expensive clothes and keeping a large retinue; he was also supposed to have an orator who knew how

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[32] Chastelain, *Œuvres* (see n. 8), vol. 5, p. 382, p. 384.
[33] *Ibidem*, pp. 48-49.

to deliver a good speech, whose contents were appropriate and whose form was pleasing. By delivering such speeches, a skilled orator like Fillastre indirectly contributed to the prince's glory.

The particular style of the oration was also important on some occasions. This is clearly demonstrated by Fillastre's two humanistic speeches. For instance, it was not just vanity when Fillastre, addressing Paul II in 1465, displayed his humanistic erudition by calling Philip's subjects by names he borrowed from Caesar's *Bellum gallicum* (*Edui, Sequani, Morini, Vallocasses, Nervii, Attrebates* and *Eburones* with their leader *Ambiorix dux*).[34] In these years, a high level of classical learning and an elegant, fashionable Latin style were already a required intellectual standard at the papal court, and it was crucial to show that the duke of Burgundy could cope with that.

In some situations, it was even important exactly when a speech was delivered. At the Imperial Diets of 1454 and 1455, Fillastre as Philip the Good's plenipotentiary wanted to convince the German princes to join the duke in the war against the Turks. He did not succeed, so his orations had no immediate political effect. But they may have had an indirect impact, for he spoke immediately after the pope's and the emperor's ambassadors and before the German princes' orators.[35] Thus, even without understanding a single word of his Latin oration, his listeners could learn that Philip the Good was a most powerful prince.

These indirect effects of Fillastre's speeches might seem insignificant. Indeed, a single demonstration of Duke Philip's power and wealth would have had no consequences. Apart from that, a single mention of his personal qualities would not have convinced many people. As a single text or a single event, none of Fillastre's speeches had a decisive impact on Burgundian self-awareness or on the image of the Burgundian state in foreign countries. But as a whole, the orations of Fillastre and his colleagues were important because they constantly repeated, and thus reinforced, generally acknowledged convictions. They steadily contributed to the image the Burgundian court wanted to spread – an image which was to last until today.

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[34] Fillastre, 'Oratio ad papam Paulum secundum' (see n. 13), p. 167.

[35] Ratisbon: Pius II, *Commentarii*, ed. Totaro (see n. 8), vol. 1, p. 143; *idem*, ed. Van Heck (see n. 8), vol. 1, p. 82. – Frankfort: Pius II, *Opera inedita*, ed. Cugnoni (see n. 21), p. 111; *Deutsche Reichstagsakten, Ältere Reihe*, vol. 19/2 (see n. 21), no. 63, § 5c. – Wiener Neustadt: G. Freiherr von Hasselholdt-Stockheim, *Herzog Albrecht IV. von Bayern und seine Zeit. Archivalischer Beitrag zur deutschen Reichsgeschichte in der 2. Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, vol. 1, part 1 (Leipzig, 1865), pp. 25-26; König von Königsthal, *Nachlese in den Reichs-Geschichten unter Kaiser Friederich III.*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt a.M./Leipzig, 1759), pp. 107-108.

# BURGUNDIAN IDEOLOGIES AND JEHAN WAUQUELIN'S PROSE TRANSLATIONS

## David J. Wrisley

The rewriting of verse romances into prose was a common literary practice at the court of Burgundy in the fifteenth century.[1] It was also an inherently ideological one. The prose translations examined in this article, *La Manekine* and *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople*, were executed by Jehan Wauquelin within some three years of each other (1446-1448).[2] This pair of texts makes for an interesting comparative study of rewriting at the court of Burgundy, not only on account of the diagetic similarities of the source texts (in verse), but also given many of the similar features which appear in the target texts (in prose). By examining the translation of a medieval romance (or a romance epic, as *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople* is sometimes called) into prose, the imaginative, literary text can be shown to be an important vehicle for the creation and promotion of ducal ideology in Burgundy.

The complexities of a concept such as ideology are not adequately summarised in short definitions, and the word 'ideology' itself is not used by all thinkers alike. Eagleton's essay *Ideology* begins by enumerating a variety of meanings for that word that circulate in contemporary critical parlance. Among the many definitions, ideology can be conceived of as 'ideas which help to legitimate a dominant political power', something 'which offers a position for a subject', 'forms of thought motivated by a social interest', 'a process by which social life is converted into a natural reality', or even 'the

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[1] The literary production of prose romances is not limited to Burgundy. An interesting comparison for the texts discussed here would be with the library of the counts and dukes of Savoy. See, for example, S. Edmunds, 'The Medieval Library of Savoy', in: *Scriptorium* 24 (1970), pp. 318-327; *idem* 25 (1971), pp. 253-284; and *idem* 26 (1972), pp. 269-293.

[2] The edition of the verse and prose *La Manekine* can be found in H. Suchier, ed., *Oeuvres poétiques de Philippe de Remi, sire de Beaumanoir*, Société des Anciens Textes Français (Paris, 1884), vol. 1. For the *Belle Hélène*, see C. Roussel, ed., *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople: chanson de geste du XIVe siècle* (Geneva, 1995); M.-C. de Crécy, ed., *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople: mise en prose d'une chanson de geste* (Geneva, 2002). Hereafter in this article the four different texts will be referred to as *ManV* for the verse version of *La Manekine*, and *ManP* for the prose, as well as *BHCV* and *BHCP*, respectively for *La Belle Hélène*.

conjuncture of discourse and power'.[3] One initial example can be found in the prologue of the *BHCP*. The ideological marriage of conquest and conversion is performed there; the subjects of its narrative are presented as *la destruction et conversion de pluseurs payens et Sarrazins par iceulx conquis, convertis et reduis a la saincte foy crestienne*, where a fictional past joins contemporary revalorisation of the idea of crusade (*BHCP*, I, 30-35).

In this article ideology will be discussed as it specifically relates to the process of translation, the art of moving a word, a concept, or a whole text from one language to another, even from one set of discourses to another. The challenge of analyzing these works lies in the fact that there is no single purpose for the translations. The prologues of many Burgundian prose romances put forth the idea that they are updating language; that is, earlier medieval texts can no longer be read on account of their antiquated language. Other prologues underscore the cultural value of lost texts worth rediscovering. While they provide a glimpse into competing theories of intention from the authors themselves, these prologues struggle, and ultimately fail, to explain the totality of textual transformations which take place. What can be said for sure is that translations, on the one hand, are far from being purely linguistic acts; their very content has been altered by the act of translating. Clearly, rewriting in Burgundy consists of bringing texts to a new audience. The authority to which the authors appeal in the prologues does not stem from any particular linguistic or cultural knowledge of the past that they hold, but rather from the fact that those translations have been ordered by an influential patron.

The act of translation is also ideological in as much as it reactivates the use value of texts, integrating into them ideas and concepts, foreign to their original form, yet dear to a new audience. Translating these texts allows power to invent new identities for itself and to insert itself – retroactively – into a past of glorious ancestors. These identity formations which take shape, in particular, at the court of Philip the Good, can be examined throughout the manuscripts which he and other nobles commissioned. Wauquelin's translations exist in an economy of patronage, and, therefore, they cast the literary text for an entirely different social context; they render it in a new social idiom, offering it to a new circle of power. The translator in question, Jehan Wauquelin, worked for Philip the Good and the Croÿ family in the mid-fifteenth century. He settled in Mons in 1428 or 1430 to carry out the trade of *liberier*, and, in addition to the two texts discussed here, he has a number of other translations attributed to his name:[4] the

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[3]  T. Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (London, 1991), p. 1.

[4]  After G. Doutrepont's comments about Wauquelin's career in *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1909), pp. 22-30, it was R. Morse who announced the need for a deeper study of this Burgundian scribe and scholar. See her 'Historical Fiction in Fifteenth-Century Burgundy', in: *Modern Language*

*Annals of Hainault* by Jacques de Guise, the *Alexander Romance*, the *History of the Kings of Britain* of Geoffrey of Monmouth, the *Girart de Roussillon*, the *Chronicle of Brabant* by Emond de Dynter, as well as the *Government of Princes* by Giles of Rome.

In the mid-fifteenth-century Low Countries, Jehan Wauquelin was not alone in composing works commissioned by the dukes and nobles at court. David Aubert, Olivier de la Marche, Philippe Camus, and others were charged with creating vernacular histories of the Golden Fleece, the stories of Charles Martel, Charlemagne, and Alexander the Great, and importantly, with linking those legends to Burgundian genealogies and contemporary notions of authority. Such authors saw themselves as finishing the great works of the thirteenth century including Aubert, who in his *Croniques et conquestes de Charlemaine* claimed to be completing, or in the most medieval sense of the word, continuing, the *Grandes Chroniques de France*. The so-called Library of Burgundy, made up of the manuscript collections of the Valois dukes of Burgundy, was studied by Doutrepont in the early twentieth century, and has since been the object of vibrant scholarly debates.[5] Particularly in the years of Philip the Good (1419-1467) were many rich literary translations of romances, epics, saints' lives, and histories rendered into Middle French prose. All of the translations, however, are not

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*Review* 75.1 (1980), pp. 48-64. The major studies of Wauquelin, until recent years, dealt with manuscript production, philological concerns from his work, or his ideological investment in Burgundian chronicles. See, in particular, A. van Buren-Hagopian, 'Jean Wauquelin de Mons et la production du livre aux Pays-Bas', in: *Publication du centre européen d'études burgondo-médianes* 23 (1983), pp. 53-74; R. Rigoulot, 'Imaginary History and Burgundian State-Building: The Translation of the *Annals of Hainault*', in: *Essays in Medieval Studies. Proceedings of the Illinois Medieval Association* 9 (1992), pp. 33-38. See also the forthcoming conference proceedings of *Jehan Wauquelin: De Mons à la cour de Bourgogne* which was held at the Centre d'Études supérieures de la Renaissance (Université de Tours, France, September 2004).

[5] See Doutrepont, *La littérature française* (see n. 4), esp. chapters 1 and 9, and his *Les Mises en prose des épopées et romans chevaleresques du XIVe et XVIe siècles* (Brussels, 1939); D. Queruel, 'Des mises en prose aux romans de chevalerie dans les collections bourguignonnes', in: *Rhétorique et mise en prose au XVe siècle: Actes du 6e colloque international sur le moyen français*, eds. S. Cigada and A. Slerca (Milan, 1991), pp. 173-193; C. Thiry, ed., « *A l'heure encore de mon escrire* »: *Aspects de la littérature de Bourgogne sous Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire*, in: *Les Lettres Romanes* h.s. (1997). G. Small, 'Introduction to the 2002 Edition', in: R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. xxxi-xxxiii, is useful, although far from complete, concerning progress made in the study of Burgundian court literature. See also C. Thiry and T. Van Hemelryck, eds., *La littérature à la cour de Bourgogne: Actualités et perspectives de recherche. Actes du 1er colloque international du Groupe de recherche sur le moyen français* (Québec, 2005).

of the same nature.[6] The prose version of the *Girart de Roussillon* legend by
Wauquelin has been shown to be, in part, a prose translation of a fourteenth-
century *chanson de geste*, but also an interpolation of multiple texts, hagio-
graphic and historical, concerning this French epic hero. The *Croniques et
conquestes de Charlemagne* by David Aubert no doubt rewrites some of the
celebrated *Song of Roland*, but only as part of a larger *rifacimento* of the
body of epic material of Charlemagne. Jehan Mansel brings together many
ancient historians to compile his *Histoires romaines*.[7] Since many of the
literary works of fifteenth-century Burgundy remain unedited, or unstudied
by literary historians, it will be some time before scholars can fully
understand the complexities of the problem of Burgundian translation.

French-language literary criticism of Burgundian court texts most often
has employed the term *mise en prose* to describe the phenomenon at hand.
That term implies a 'putting into prose' of a verse narrative. Another term
for the same concept, 'derhyming' (in French, *dérimage*), privileges the
subtraction of rhyme as the significant literary practice in these texts.[8]
Numerous debates have treated the linguistic and stylistic features of the
prosified, or the derhymed, text. This article will take into consideration
such transformations, not as isolated linguistic facts, but as part of a larger
ideological task. In his translations, Wauquelin can be seen to infuse older
narratives of family and nation with newer notions of state integration,
princely authority, and governance, and he does so using these texts to con-
tribute to the shaping of the various faces of the duke of Burgundy.

In some ways a comparison of the rewritings of *La Manekine* and *La
Belle Hélène de Constantinople* is an easier task than comparing other
works with their Burgundian prose translation. This is the case for several
reasons. First, we know that the reworking of both texts was done with little
or no reliance upon other sources (unlike the case of the *Girart de Rous-
sillon* or the *Alexandre* poem). Second, both verse texts exist in a limited
number of manuscripts. We have fewer texts, and fewer versions, in other
words, to compare. Third, both prose texts follow the same basic plot line,
the substantive differences between them consisting of basic compressions,
reordering, omissions, and interpolations. These minor alterations, and the
ideological consequences of their sum total, form the subject of this article's

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[6] On the complexity of the notion of translation in the late Middle Ages, see my
'Translating Power and Knowledge at the Fifteenth-Century Court of Burgundy',
forthcoming in: *The Medieval Translator* 9 (2005).
[7] Doutrepont, *La littérature française* (see n. 4), p. 137.
[8] Both *mise en prose* and *dérimage*, describe what has always been assumed to be a
strictly generic process, and thus do not fully describe the phenomenon. A straight-
forward example of why this is so is Wauquelin's version of Geoffrey of Mon-
mouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*, a translation made from Latin prose into
Middle French prose.

analysis. Fourth, the narratives are related to each other; they belong both to the family of stories about accused queens, such as Constance, and to the 'Maiden without Hands' folk type.[9] Both recount the story of a heroine who flees her father's incestuous desire, a flight which breaks apart the fabric of family and nation. Sub-plots of deceitful mothers-in-law showcase diabolical behavior, and the reunions of family provide numerous opportunities for the penitence of the characters to be both tested, and performed, publicly. The text of *BHCV* is considerably longer and more complex than the *ManV* (some 15,500 alexandrines versus some 8,600 octosyllabic rhyming couplets). The *ManV*, perhaps due to its relative simplicity, has received more critical attention than the *BHCV* in recent years. Both lend themselves, however, to fascinating readings from the perspectives of medieval sexual politics, the image of law in literature, as well as issues of generic experimentation.

Harvey has asserted that, in the *ManP*, a religious and historical discourse displaces a predominantly courtly discourse of the *ManV*.[10] Rouillard's argument, building on Harvey's, focuses on the intensification of the 'pious tone' of the narrative, and on how the anxieties of the legitimacy of the marriage of daughter and father are mitigated in the *ManP* by the use of a religious intertext and the use of Latin Biblical citations.[11] Black has argued that the *BHCP* can be understood both in the context of what she calls 'propaganda' for the crusade against the Turks elaborated primarily by Duke Philip the Good, as well as that of mid-fifteenth-century politics between England and France.[12] She also begins an analysis[13] of the text-image

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[9] A recent work on this topic which I have not seen is N. B. Black, *Medieval Narratives of Accused Queens* (Gainesville, 2003).

[10] C. Harvey, 'Jehan Wauquelin, « translateur » de *La Manekine*', in: *Le Moyen Français* 39-41(1997), pp. 345-356; M. Colombo has been examining the possibility of reediting the *ManP* in her lecture 'Pour une nouvelle édition de la *Manequine* en prose de Jean Wauquelin: quelques réflexions preliminaires' at the conference at Louvain-la-Neuve (2003) cited above (see n. 5). See also M. Colombo, 'La rhétorique épistolaire dans deux *mises en prose* de Jehan Wauquelin: la *Manequine* et la *Belle Hélène de Constantinople*', forthcoming in: *Jehan Wauquelin: De Mons à la cour de Bourgogne* (see n. 4).

[11] L. M. Rouillard, 'Reading the Reader: Jean Wauquelin's Prose Adaptation of *La Manekine*', in: *Medieval Perspectives* 15 (2000), pp. 93-104.

[12] N. B. Black, '*La Belle Hélène de Constantinople* and Crusade Propaganda at the Court of Philip the Good', in: *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 26 (2000), pp. 42-51.

[13] This analysis of the relationship of image to text in the *BHCP* (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 9967) deserves further study. The miniatures are reproduced in black and white in J. van den Gheyn, *L'Ystoire de Helayne: Réproduction des 26 miniatures du ms. 9967 de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique* (Brussels, 1913). Unfortunately, the single manuscript of the *ManP*, in addition to being severely damaged by fire, is not illuminated.

relation in the Brussels presentation manuscript of the *BHCP*. All three arguments have opened debate on the various meanings in the *ManP* and the *BHCP*.

What characterises both stories is an unwinding of social order, centred on the flight, and the occulting, of the central female protagonist. The culmination of both tales witnesses the reemergence of the central heroine from hiding where she has been saved from a variety of forms of violence. What follow are the restoration of her bodily integrity (in both tales she has mysteriously chopped off her hand just before fleeing), and the reunification of lost family members. Both prose and verse versions of the two stories have drawn-out endings, marked by multiple summaries of the plot set in long monologues, uttered by the key protagonists as the separated characters are one by one reunited with one another.

Drawing on Aristotle's *Poetics* and the classical Greek concept of *anagnorisis*, Cave has argued that recognition plots structure a process by which the reader can move beyond the stumbling blocks and the obstacles to understanding, on to an intelligibility of the world around him. Recognition, in a nutshell, brings about a shift from ignorance to knowledge.[14] By dilating the final recognition scenes of the female protagonist, named Joïe in the *ManV* and Elaine in the *BCHV* (Helayne in the *BHCP*), the fictional narratives examined in this article give more than adequate space to the description of a restoration of penitence and realignment with God. Both texts, in all four versions, end on a happy note, the couple, family, and nation are brought back together and reconciled, the transgressors are brought to penitence, and, as such, a future is assured for the lands of all kings involved. The *ManP* and the *BHCP* seize the textual inertia provided by the verse *anagnorisis* plots, however, in order to introduce into the reconstitution of society concepts which are not originally found in the verse narrative. In other words, new notions of history, sanctity, honour, integrity, and governance are inscribed into an old story, and this process takes place simultaneously with the story's narrative resolution. The *ManV* and the *BHCV*, seeing as how their plots undo social and moral order, provide the perfect site onto which Wauquelin can perform an ideological graft. By subtly rewriting certain aspects of the endings, his *mises en prose* attempt to carry out another common function of ideology, namely the transformation of social life into a natural reality.[15] The rest of this article will deal with the reassembling of family, couple, and nation in the *ManP* and the *BHCP*. The focus, in other words, will be on the beginning of narrative closure. The analysis concentrates on sections L to the end of the *ManP* and chapters CIII to the end of the *BHCP*.[16]

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[14] T. Cave, *Recognitions: A Study in Poetics* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 1-5.

[15] Eagleton, *Ideology* (see n. 3), p. 1.

[16] Respectively pp. 340-366 of the *ManP* and pp. 276-401 of the *BHCP* (see n. 2).

One reason why the ending of these narratives is important may just relate to the moral claim which Wauquelin makes in the prologue of the *BHCP* where he calls on the authority of Isidore of Seville:

> *Isydorus le philozophe nous dit en ses* Auctoritez *que on doit tousjours enquerir la fin de l'omme et non point le commencement, car Nostre Seigneur ne regarde point quelz nous avons esté en nostre commencement mais seulement quelz nous sommes en la fin de nostre vie* (*BHCP*, I, 1-6).

This sententious prologue stresses finality, the disentangling of oneself from the trap of sinfulness, and the judgment which occurs at the end of Christian history. Wauquelin goes on to assert that his translation of the *BHCV* should awaken souls from lethargic impiety and help in dispelling ignorance, a claim which cleverly echoes the Aristotelian notion of *anagnorisis*. These rewritten fictions should be morally useful for Wauquelin's primary readers, his patrons, Philip the Good and Jean de Croÿ. In addition to the moral reordering of life, however, another reason that the ending of these texts is important can be understood in the historical context of Wauquelin's career. The period of the composition of the *ManP* and the *BHCP*, the late 1440s, is a period following the significant expansion of Burgundian territories (1425-1435) in which Philip the Good focused on consolidating his possessions and experimenting with forms of pseudo-monarchical governance.[17] The fictions of bringing order, political as well as moral, to diverse lands found at the ends of the *ManP* and the *BHCP* resemble those same issues of interest to Philip in his own lands. What is more, they allow important values to be incorporated into his pretensions of empire: historical relevance, judicious governance, and sanctity.

*Uses of History*

Wauquelin uses history in the *ManP* and the *BHCP* in significant, distinct ways, and an analysis of this issue forms the first section of this article. Wauquelin identifies himself as a clerk, and claims that his translations are based upon authority and erudition. He informs the reader that he acquired additional knowledge of the subjects he is translating by referring to *autres hystoires*, knowledge which he integrated into his translations. This being said, very little contemporary history, either of the consolidation of power in the 1440s, or the earlier territorial expansion, makes its way into the translations. Likewise, mention is made of his patrons, but usually super-

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[17] W. Blockmans and W. Prevenier, *The Promised Lands: The Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530*, transl. E. Fackelman (Philadelphia, 1999). The authors have labeled this period, 'The Difficult Path Toward an Integrated State (1440-1465)'.

ficially, in the prologue or epilogue of the works. Wauquelin, nonetheless, makes these two translations historically relevant for his patrons.

The story of the *ManV* takes place in an unspecified time which is never more precise than the Old French adverb connoting 'once upon a time' (*jadis*). The romance's characters, with the exception of the princess of Hungary, her son, and the pope, go without proper names. The action of the romance takes place across a wide variety of countries, both east and west: Scotland, France, Italy, Hungary, and Armenia. The history of each of those countries, however, is irrelevant to the romance narrative, the one exception being Rome which functions simply as a universal city for Christianity. The regional qualities of Eastern and Western Europe make no difference to the plot. The characters' return to penitence, in addition to the moralising conclusion in the verse narrative's epilogue, lends the romance a didactic, not just an entertaining, function. The lack of historical specificity creates an everyman-like scenario. The *ManV* concentrates on the exemplarity of Christian history, not on human history in the *hic et nunc*.

The *BHCV*, on the other hand, is full of geography, both European and Mediterranean, fragments of the local history of France and Flanders, and even the proper names of kings, emperors, and saints. All of its characters have names, even the imaginary Saracen kings, and the action takes place in specific cities, such as Rome, Tours, Bruges, and Courtrai. Importantly, the geography and the architecture of some of those cities even figure in the story itself. The intrigue begins with a Byzantine emperor named Anthoine, who is helping a Latin emperor by the name of Richier, to protect Rome from the onslaught of a pagan King Bruyant. The narrative follows the Christian forces through European cities, some of which are depicted under pagan rule, for example, Plaisance (Piacenza [*sic*]) and Bruges. The capture of Jerusalem by Titus in 70 A.D. figures in the prologue of the *BHCV* and the *BHCP*, yet the verse and prose texts disagree on when this event took place. The work is clearly set in the early Christian period, anywhere from one hundred to a several hundred years after the death of Christ. The approximate dating of events creates a general narrative time in which Rome was Christian, and in which Christendom was suffering attacks by non-Christians.[18] The Byzantine and Latin empires are connected through intermarriage and they work together to protect Rome from King Bruyant. The romance plot of the *Belle Hélène* in this way unfolds inside of the logic of the *chanson de geste*, where a unified Christendom struggles against an undifferentiated pagan other. Wauquelin replicates that imprecision perfectly in the initial lines of his work, where he describes King Bruyant ambiguously as *un roy sarrazin ou payen* (*BHCP*, II, 27).[19]

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[18] The attack on Rome by pagans evokes many possible dates, perhaps 410 A.D. with the Goths, or 455 A.D. Vandals.

[19] The bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône, Jehan Germain, also focuses on the early

In the *BHCP* Wauquelin is content to maintain, even to reinforce, the ambiguity of the setting. In chapter CIII of the prose version, he links the characters to Clovis, the important king of the Franks, whose baptism (496 A.D.) is often associated with the Christianisation of Europe. He interpolates into his prose a reference to the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, concerning Saint Remy and the baptism of Clovis.[20] By invoking the authority of the *Grandes Chroniques de France*, Wauquelin situates his story in a symbolic time more than a real time, since Clovis was not born until significantly later than the time period given by both the *BHCV* and the *BHCP*. This significant reference to the *Grandes Chroniques de France* and the baptism of Clovis marks the beginning of the part of the *BHCP* which will be studied in this article.

Unlike the *BHCP*, Wauquelin resituates the *ManP* inside an entirely new, and rather precise, historical frame. Harvey has examined the inclusion of historical material in the *ManP*.[21] The unnamed king of Hungary takes the name Salomon in the *ManP*, a king of the early eleventh century in Hungary. The king of Scotland is likewise given the name Conon. The latter is present at the chivalric tournament in Ressons, and Wauquelin lists the other Franco-Burgundian noblemen present: including King Philip of France, Godefroi de Louvain, Baudouin de Hainault, and others (*ManP*, XXXIV, 318). Wauquelin also displaces the adverb *jadis* of the *ManV* by stating that, following the example of Godefroi de Bouillon, *le plus grant partie de ces seigneurs se croisoiient, et en allerent conquester la saint chité de Jherusalem* (*ManP*, XXXIV, 318). Clearly, the kings of Hungary and Scotland have new garb in the *ManP*, that of late eleventh-century crusaders.

This time frame is also confirmed in the recognition scenes. Whereas the *ManV* celebrates the reunion of princess Joïe with her son, husband, and father by an elaborate display of rhymes and *adnominatio*, Wauquelin in his *ManP* omits the literary flourish, yet interpolates a few words of praise

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Christian period in his *Mappemonde spirituelle* (1449), a fact which allows him to link the Christianisation of the European kings with the stories of the Great Persecution of saints in northern Africa. Another possible effect of this time period is that Germain can meditate nostalgically on a unified Christianity.

[20] Clovis found the child of a pagan couple, Plaisance (daughter of a pagan king of Jerusalem) and Constancien (formerly Robastre, pagan king of Bordeaux), both of whom had converted to Christianity in the story. The child was found wrapped in a *jazerain*, a kind of mail-linked coat, in the forest, hence the name Clovis gives him, *Joserain*. The irony of giving this name Joserain to the child of two converted pagans is that, as Wauquelin himself tells us, it comes from *jazerain*, and this term, common in the *chanson de geste*, is most likely a loan-word from Arabic, taken from the name Algeria, *al-jaza'ir*. A. J. Greimas, *Dictionnaire de l'ancien français jusqu'au milieu du XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1987), p. 346.

[21] Harvey, 'Jehan Wauquelin « translateur »' (see n. 10), pp. 348-349.

about the pope who has blessed this reunion, Urban. Wauquelin gives a
mini-biography of the pope, highlighting the ideological struggles between
Church, royalty, and clergy at the time. He adds details of the excommuni-
cation of King Philip of France for *le pechié que il faisoit de ses con-
cubines*, referring to his adulterous marriage which came up at the Council
of Clermont in November 1095 (*ManP*, LIX, 356). Another passing men-
tion of *une tresgrant controversie a le cause de l'evesquié de Cambray*
seems to refer to the Investiture Controversy and bishop Odo de Cambrai
(*ManP*, LIX, 356). Not only do these events further date the story at the
beginning of the Crusading Movement, but they also provide a rare scene in
these two prose romances where pope and emperor clash. The sinfulness of
Philip of France also mirrors the transgressions of the Hungarian king, one
last echo of the dangers of misguided kingship as the story begins to wind
down. Such changes in the historical frame of the texts – although not fully
developed – transforms the romances into ancillary stories in larger
narratives, those of the Crusades and the conflicts of secular and religious
powers in the high Middle Ages. While it is arguable whether Philip the
Good wanted to, or even could, revive the crusade, the *ManP* is a good
example of how he used images of that period to define himself vis-à-vis
the legacy of other French kings who had made the 'holy passage'.[22]

Although the *BHCP* does not integrate historical material as much as the
*ManP* does, the former's prologue is still imbued with an ideology of
crusading. First and foremost, the reunion of family and nation is inscribed
within the conquest of Jerusalem and other pagan cities by the Christians.
Secondly, and more subtly, we find the use of the term *passez la mer* just
before the main scenes of recognition in chapter CIX. There, the narrator
compares Helayne's pious suffering like a saint underneath the stairs in
Tours with the deeds of men who went *outremer* to Syria to fight the
enemies of their faith. Helayne, we read, *savoit bien qu'ilz estoit droite
estacque et deffence de saincte foy catholicque* (*BHCP*, CIX, 16-17). This
reference, without mentioning specific dates or persons, implicitly links the
romance plot of the persecuted woman with the larger story of the persecu-
tion of Christians and the reconquest of Jerusalem.

One last example, where Wauquelin uses a specific historical reference
can be found in the very last chapter of the *BHCP*. As power is being
transferred to the next generation, Anthoine, the emperor of Constantinople,
who *ne volt tenir seigneurie ne empire*, retires to a monastery called *Vien-
nois*. Wauquelin makes one last comment at the close of the story: *nostre*

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[22] See A. S. Atiya, *The Crusade in the Late Middle Ages* (London, 1938); J.
Devaux, 'Le *Saint Voyage de Turquie*: croisade et propagande à la cour de Philippe
le Bon (1463-64)', in: '*A l'heure encore de mon escrire*' (see n. 5), pp. 53-70; J.
Paviot, *Les ducs de Bourgogne, la croisade et l'Orient (fin XIVe siècle-XVe siècle)*
(Paris, 2003).

*hystoire* [*dit*] *qu'il est en Viennois et que c'est saint Anthoine de Viennois où plusieurs gens vont par devocion* (*BHCP*, CLIII, 15-17). The *BHCP*'s editor, De Crécy, has commented that this small detail changes entirely the fate of the emperor from that of the verse narrative version.[23] By putting the emperor of Constantinople in this particular monastery, one which enjoyed the patronage of Philip the Good and his wife Isabel of Bavaria, Wauquelin creates a special relationship between the duke, the strategic city of Constantinople and the Greek Church.

*Nobility and Governance*

The second section of this article deals with the question of nobility and royalty, and how Wauquelin's rewriting underscores their importance, and yet recasts their piety as independent from, and coming before, church power. The prologue to the *ManP* gives one of Wauquelin's intentions for remaking the romance: he will reveal the forms of treachery that can occur in a country, *a celle fin que tous prinches et vaillans seigneurs peussent et seussent a leur gouvernement pourveir* (*ManP*, I, 267). It is tempting to take Wauquelin at his word, namely that romance is inserted into the 'mirror for princes' genre, designed for the edification of the prince. Instead, the prose romance, I would claim, is more of a triumphalist portrait of a politically sovereign prince. It gives more a flattering portrait of the prince than a mirror for his governance. Rouillard has argued that 'Wauquelin's world is an orderly world with a God strictly in charge of things'.[24] While this may be true, Wauquelin's world is also one in which the actions of princes and royalty are coterminous with the will of God, a world in which a figure like Godefroi de Bouillon can lead men to the re-conquest of the Holy Land under the aegis of God.

In the recognition scenes in the *ManV*, there are repetitive, long monologues and festive, courtly descriptions, just as in the *BHCV*, the ornate poetics of the late *chanson de geste* dilate its completion. Wauquelin abbreviates many of these repetitions in his prose texts, focusing on the synchronicity of the plan that God has for his elect and the action of the king and nobles. In the plot of the *ManV*, the king of Scotland leaves for Rome with the intention of confessing his sins and recovering his lost wife Joïe, who, earlier, had fled his mother's treachery. Upon arriving in the Eternal City, the king meets a Roman senator who, it turns out, had been secretly protecting Joïe at his villa for some time. At this early stage of the recognition scenes, the diction of the *ManP*'s characters is markedly formal. The two men address each other *moult honnourablement* choosing flowery

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[23]  De Crécy, ed., *La Belle Hélène: mise en prose* (see n. 2), p. 472.
[24]  Rouillard, 'Reading the Reader' (see n. 11), p. 100.

salutations over the shorter, more direct ones found in the *ManV*.[25] Wauque-lin's prolixity in translation here seems to satisfy the double sense of *embelissement* (making more ornate, but also more beautiful), one of the goals which Wauquelin claims in the prologue:

> *ceste histoire ait esté aucunefois romanciiee par rime, neantmains pour*
> *l'embelissement d'icelle, affin que plus patentement elle fuist congnulte*
> *[...] je l'ay composee par la maniere qui s'ensieult (ManP, I, 267).*

The creation of a suitable ducal idiom is also achieved through lexical innovation in the text. After the spouses' reunification on Ash Wednesday, for example, Joïe defends the senator's honourable protection of her virtue during her stay at his home. The *ManV* uses the substantive *preudom* (6619) in this section of text, a word which the translation seizes and elaborates upon: *par la foy que je doy a Dieu, oncques plus preudhomme je ne vis. Et se sa preudhonmie et son bon conseil ne fuist, je ne fuisse plus en vye (ManP*, LVIII, 353). The word *preudhomme*, its nominal abstraction *preud-honmie*, and other synonyms (*bonhommerie, debonnaireté*) are then used in the recognition scenes to describe two key figures, Wauquelin's patron and Christ. The result is an explicit connection of the behaviour of noble men and the will of God. Other examples can be found in the *ManP* when the pope declares that the miracle of family reunification and the recovery of the protagonist's hand should be celebrated under the sign of Christ's *debonnaireté* (*ManP*, LXI, 359) as well as when Wauquelin's narrator refers to his patron's *debonnaireté* at the very end of the work (*ManP*, LXV, 366). The recognition scene in Rome is not driven by a focus on the heroine as it is in the *ManV*, but rather by the noble comportment of men. This is a radical shift away from the poetics of the thirteenth-century poem which venerates the saint-like heroine, and performs a kind of symbolic marriage between Christ and her.

In a similar gesture, in the *BHCV*, it is the pope who hides Helayne in his palace. He is said to speak very *debonnairement*, reassuring Helayne of her safety. The *BHCV* removes the adverb from the description of the pope, giving it instead to the Saracen messenger of King Hurtault de Castres. The change in diction between the Saracen's speech in the *BHCV* and the *BHCP* from *gab*-like epic speech to noble discourse is remarkable. Formulaic pseudo-Islamic apostrophe is replaced by the kind of language which the Christian kings use. In addition, in that same scene, the pope responds to Helayne's fear of what the emperor and the king, whom she believes to be against her, would do if they found her in hiding. The verse offers a complex explanation of her fate (*BHCV*, laisse CCXCV, 11389-11402),

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[25] For example, the hemistiche greeting in the *ManV*, *Sire, bien viegniés* (5993), becomes in the *ManP*: *Sire, vous soiiés le tresbien venus en mon povre hostel* (LIII, 345).

while the prose offers a compressed version, again couched in the language of honour and power of men: *ilz lui feroient touz l'onneur qu'ilz porroient et la remettroient en sa dominacion et seignorie* (*BHCP*, CXVIII, 41-43).

Titles of the characters in Wauquelin's rewritings also serve an essential, and ennobling, role. The *BHCP* labels its protagonists, calling them repeatedly *la belle et bonne Helayne, le bon roy Henry, le bon empereur Anthoine*. In step with the binary oppositions of the *chansons de gestes*, their goodness or justice sets them in opposition against other immoral characters, either the rude pagan kings or the Christian perpetrators of *traïson*. When the pagan ruler of Bruges named Maradin converts and takes a Christian name, the narrative all of a sudden labels him *le bon conte Meurant* (*BCHP*, CXXXV, 40). Unlike the case of the *ManV*, where kings and queens can be suspected of treachery or sin, the *ManP* constantly underscores the title and the stature of the nobility, especially that of the king of Hungary's daughter, Joïe. Throughout the *ManP*, she is known as *Madamme Joiie*, or even *Madamme Mannequine*, even when her identity is unknown to the characters and her reputation is called into question. The space of prose is one in which stature, propriety, and polity are constantly reinforced.

Rouillard has argued that the *ManP* displays a renewed sense of piety, basing her argument on the inclusion of the Latin biblical quotations which, she claims, function as Wauquelin's interpretative matrix for understanding the verse tale.[26] This argument is not a complete picture of what happens to the question of religion in the prose romances. In the recognition scenes, for example, the role of kings and emperors is heightened at the same time that the role of church power and descriptions of religiosity are diminished. The king must act in a pious manner, it is true, but no matter how strong the urge to be penitent, an emphasis is placed on the necessary control of affairs of the state. The king of Hungary, Joïe's father, for example, having realised the necessity of confessing his own sins, travels to Rome. The chapter describing his departure in the *ManP* expands on the verse version and interpolates comments on the importance of domestic, political order in his absence:

> *Et lors quant il eult tresbien ordonné de la cose publicque produire et mener en bon terme, il prist congié a eulx, et lui et son seneschal a tout tresgrant compagnie de nobles hommes de sa terre entrerent en leur nef* (*ManP*, LVIII, 355).

This notion of *cose publicque*, the Middle French translation of *res publica*, is not unknown to scholars of political thought at the court of Burgundy,

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[26] Rouillard, 'Reading the Reader' (see n. 11), pp. 99f. I see them in a more emblematic way, a clerkly gloss, which must be understood in tandem with the various other changes in the texts.

and in early modern Europe in general, and it surfaces elsewhere in the *ManP* where Wauquelin wants to emphasise the quality of reasonable governance of the king.[27]

In both the *ManP* and the *BHCP*, other scenes downplay both the power of church officials in the story and the miracles which they declare, while simultaneously refocusing attention onto worldly matters of hierarchy and ancestry. In the *ManV*, for example, at the moment when daughter Joïe, father, and husband are reunited in Rome, the pope proclaims this chance a miracle (*ManP*, 7365ff.). In the *ManP*, the pope is left out of the picture altogether, and it is the king of Hungary instead who raises his hands to the heavens and proclaims Latin verses taken from the *Psalms*. This scene in prose makes another significant change in the narrative; in it, the king of Hungary offers his own daughter officially to the king of Scotland. At the heart of the prose narration are two points absent in verse: the submission of the father to the son, as well as the legitimacy and magnitude of the inheritance. The king states:

> *je te loe et remercie de ta proedomie laquelle tu as moustré a ma fille. Me vechi tout tien, mon regne est tien, et qui plus est, tu seras de par ta femme roy d'Ermenie. Car il lui est deuwt de droitte hoirie de par sa mere, laquelle fu fille au roy d'Alemagne, laquelle estoit de par sa mere droit hoir d'Ermenie, se lui doit par droit de hiretage esqueir, pource que plus prochain hoir ne y a. Je n'oseroye mieulx demander que ma fille estre a toy donnee. Or le gharde comme tienne, et je le te requier et priie* (*ManP*, LX, 358).

The *ManV* emphasises the restoration of integrity of the female heroine before the question of inheritance, whereas the *ManP* does the opposite.

The picture is slightly more complex in the *BHCP* considering that the narrative is not only about the disintegration and reintegration of family and nation, but it is also set within a master narrative of the submission and conversion of pagan cities. Chapter CXXXV in the *BHCP* features the count Maradin mentioned above who is captured by the Emperor Anthoine and other Christians. The verse describes his baptism as a renouncement of Muhammad (*Mahon*) and the other pagan gods which *chansons de geste* associated with Islam (*BCHV*, laisse CCCLIII, 13516ff.), whereas the *BHCP* portrays the conversion rather as a submission to emperor and king, first, and then to the Christian religion. This submission also entails joining the Christian military cause against the pagans, which he does. The language of fealty goes hand in hand with baptism (*BCHP*, CXXXV, 17ff.).

As for the miracle of Helayne's recovered hand in the *BHCP*, Wauquelin also gives a lesser narrative influence to the divinity in this scene than

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[27] A. J. Vanderjagt, *'Qui sa vertu anoblist'. The Concepts of* noblesse *and* chose publicque *in Burgundian Political Thought* (Groningen, 1981).

the *BHCV* does. Twice in the verse narrative a divine voice resounds in the scene directing the characters what to do and proclaiming the occurrence a miracle (*BCHV*, laisses CCCXCVI and CCCXCVII, 15390 and 15438). In the *BHCP,* instead of a divine voice, Felix, the hermit who brought up Helayne's two boys, instructs one of them, Martin, how to reattach his mother's hand. In the verse rendition, the mystery of the divine voice and the miracle of the reattached hand are accompanied by a prayer of the 'epic credo' sort from Martin. Wauquelin's prose version shortens Martin's prayer and curiously describes the swift disappearance of the hermit as though he himself were an angel of God:

> *Aprés cestui miracle avenu, sans autre congié prendre se partist le saint hermite, et n'y eust oncques qui sceust quant ne comment il s'en ala. Et n'en fait l'ystoire plus de mencion, mais semble, ainsi que l'istoire veult dire, que c'estoit ung angele qui là c'estoit apparu pour enseignier le mistere devantdit (BHCP, CXLIX, 62-67).*

The *ManP* also evacuates the miraculous quality of the scene in the *ManV* when the two kings and Joïe recognise each other. The voice of God which resounds in the *ManV* version, proclaiming the miracle and instructing them where the chopped-off hand of the protagonist can be found, appears to be completely suppressed in *ManP*.[28] Along with many other examples of a diminution of the importance of miracles in Wauquelin's work is the abbreviated rendering of the legend of Saint Martin's fall which according to the *BHCP*'s editor, De Crécy, is significantly embellished in the verse (*BHCV*, laisse CCLXXXVIII, 11052-11176).[29] The figure of the martyr saint in Wauquelin, as will be developed below, appears more as a figure of regional or national pride, or perhaps a mark of dynastic sanctity, rather than the embodiment of Christian mystery, or a narrative actor interceding on behalf of God, as in the earlier vernacular tradition.

Both tales, the *ManV* and the *BHCV*, stage the recognition of the couple and the family under the purview of the Church, where the reunion is both blessed by the pope and acknowledged as a miracle. The prose versions by Wauquelin, as we have shown, focus attention away from the miracle of the recognition and from the blessing of the church, and focus more on the individual secular powers cast in the narrative. This can also be illustrated at the end of the narratives through the image of the transition from an older to a younger generation. The example considered above from the *ManP* where the king of Hungary cedes his kingdoms to his son-in-law illustrates that perfectly well. Additionally, at the very end of the romance after all parties are reunited, more narrative time is devoted in prose than in verse to the

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[28]  The manuscript is fragmentary here, so it is also possible that this section was lost in the extant copy.

[29]  De Crécy, ed., *La Belle Hélène: mise en prose* (see n. 2), p. 456.

characters traveling in the various inherited lands, Hungary and Armenia in particular. Wauquelin spectacularises the establishment of stability in the kingdoms as power is transferred over from old to new sovereign. He carefully narrates his prose story for an audience keenly interested in the problems of consolidating power across a heterogeneous territory. In the *BHCP* the same phenomenon is repeated, but with greater consequences (*BHCP*, CLIII, *passim*). Anthoine, the emperor of Constantinople, decides to retire to a hermitage, and his power and possessions as emperor are ceded to Brice and his wife Ludie. This ending to the *BHCP* could not be anything but flattering to Wauquelin's patron. Not only does Anthoine retire to *Viennois*, which Wauquelin is quick to gloss as *Anthoine de Viennois*, as was mentioned in the previous section, but also this transfer of power from East to West, from Greece to England, performs the political notion of *translatio imperii*, the desire for the reunion of western and eastern Christianity, for which Philip publicly expressed a desire throughout his life.

*An Ideology of Sanctity*

In the above section, we observed how Wauquelin diminishes the narrative role of the pope and foregrounds the image of a secular ruler, the king or seneschal, in his prose texts. The subject of the third, and final, section of this article is the sanctity of the ruler. It has been demonstrated how the long monologues and prayers in the *ManV* have been suppressed, rewritten or reformulated, as Harvey argues, *de façon plus ramassée*.[30] I would go further to claim that Wauquelin suppresses some of the more mysterious qualities of the *ManV* which help connect it to the mysteries of Christianity and sanctity. One of the most striking changes made by Wauquelin involves how the *ManP* evacuates the verse story of one of its most original elements: its spiritual and lyric insertions on the mysteries of Christianity, in particular, the king of Scotland's recitation of an *Ave Maria*-like poem. This lyric insertion is a poetically elaborate piece of hundreds of octosyllabic verses resembling Joinville's *Credo* or Rutebeuf's *Ave Maria*. Wauquelin's narrator describes the king of Scotland's sufferings, mentions that the king uttered such a poem, but passes on the text of the lament itself:

> *Helas! lez piteux regrez qui il faisoit! Je cuide que, qui tous les metteroit en escript, que ce seroit une longhe chose. Mais nous nous en passerons en brief pour no matere ataindre, car la proilixité du tamps et du conte polroit bien tourner a anuy* (*ManV*, L, 341).

This missing poetic utterance, a lyrical fragment framed by romance, exemplifies in the 'de-hagiographised' diction of the *ManP*, a style that downplays the saint-like veneration of the princess characteristic of the

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[30]  Harvey, 'Jehan Wauquelin « translateur »' (see n. 10), p. 350.

romance narrator, in favor of a more sober description of her piety.[31] On the question of that piety, both versions of *La Manekine* agree that the reunion of the Scottish king and Joïe during Holy Week obliged them to refrain from the carnality of a lovers' reunion, yet the *ManP* significantly decreases the number of spiritual exercises that the two inflicted upon themselves (*ManP*, LVII, 353). Examples of the omission of prayers in the *BHCP* exist as well, but that work's treatment of prayer is generally more complex – no doubt because it competes with the generic exigencies of the *chanson de geste* – and it deserves further study.

To assert that Wauquelin's prose romances written for the court milieu in Burgundy shift the focus away completely from spirituality and sanctity in favor of secular power altogether would be erroneous. Those secular powers – king, seneschal, queen – also act inside of a symbolic sacred space. Considering the *ManP* alone, one can claim that Wauquelin takes away spiritual lyric and quotidian spiritual practice, the image of which is common in the vernacular literature of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries where roles for women figure more widely.[32] In addition, as we demonstrated above, Wauquelin's *ManP* resacralises chivalry by implanting inside prose romance a historical discourse of the crusades, redefining the warrior knight as the image of sanctity for a Burgundian public. As a counterpoint to this potentially essentialising claim of foregrounding masculinity at the expense of female sanctity, this article will treat one last episode from the *BHCP* to demonstrate some of the paradoxes and complexities of sanctity and sacralisation for Burgundian heroism: the scene of the martyrdom of Amaury.

In the struggle for the pagan city of Castres, a certain Amaury, a formerly pagan king of Scotland who had earlier converted to Christianity, is made prisoner (*BHCP*, CXXIII-IV, *passim*). That king is martyred when he refuses to convert back to the pagan religion, the city of Castres is captured from the pagan king Hurtault, and it is renamed Plaisance. The *BHCP* uses the main plot from the *BHCV*, but with several important distinctions. King Henry, Emperor Anthoine, and the pope, upon reading the letter left behind by Helayne, all pronounce prayers for her safe return. These monologue-prayers, as in the *ManP*, are suppressed. In the siege of Castres, the verse work depicts the decoration of the city with images of Muhammad (*BHCV*, laisse CCCXIII, 12034-46), all details of which Wauquelin also omits. The battle and deaths of fighters, including the admiral of Palermo at the hand of

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[31] It is curious that here Wauquelin seems concerned about prolixity, given that in other parts of the work, he himself indulges in it.

[32] Black argues that the role of woman is even further reduced in the illustration program of the *BHCP* in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 9967, where Helayne is segregated to household scenes. Cf. Black, '*La Belle Hélène de Constantinople* and Crusade Propaganda' (see n. 12), pp. 44-45.

Amaury, are depicted in much more detail in verse as well. When the captured Amaury is brought before the pagan King Hurtaut, the *BHCV* depicts the two kings in a dialogue-debate about Christianity and Islam, with Amaury refusing to budge and abandon Christianity (*BHCV*, laisse CCCXVIII, *passim*). The *BHCP*, instead, has Hurtaut make Amaury an offer of safety and protection that he cannot refuse, in return for his homage and re-conversion. He threatens that if he does not accept, Amaury will be killed as Christ was, by crucifixion. In a moment reminiscent of the above mentioned discussions of the foregrounding of nobility and chivalric hierarchy, Hurtaut says:

> [p]ar mes dieux, faulx crestien, ce a esté par toy que mon frere, l'admiral de Palerne, a perdu la vie. Si te prometz, foy que doy à mes dieux, que jamais tu ne m'eschapperas vif, si avras du tout fait à ma volenté. Mais, pour ce que tu es si vaillant chevalier et que autreffois tu as esté payen, je te prometz, se tu veulx laissier ceste faulce loy crestienne et reprendre ta loy, je te perdonnerai la mort de mon frere et si te feray mon compaignon et te donneray tant de terre et de seignorie qu'il te soffira. Et sans nulle faulte, se tu ne le fais ainsi, saiches que tu morras de telle mort come morust ton Jhesucrist (*BHCP*, CXXIV, 58-69).

Despite this offer, Amaury refuses to convert back to his original religion, and in the *BHCV* he is taken to a mosque (*mahommerie*) where he is crucified. The *BHCP* again erases all reference to Muhammad and to the mosque, preferring to call it a *temple de Jupiter* (*BHCP*, CXXV, 18-19) transforming Hurtaut back into a pagan, and thereby uncollapsing the Islamic-pagan conflation of the verse text. The richness of the scene which follows in chapter CXXV in the *BHCP*, which could be the object of an article in itself, expands on Hurtaut's threat to crucify Amaury as Christ had been. Wauquelin interpolates scenes from the Crucifixion (according to the editor, De Crécy, from the book of *Luke*) sketching a much more complex picture of Amaury's martyrdom.[33] The elaborate 'epic credo' poem of laisse CCCXXII of the *BHCV* uttered by Amaury as he is dying, similar to the others in *La Manekine*, is reduced to one line, and is only mentioned by Wauquelin in passing as a prayer whose power reduces the pagan King Hurtaut immediately to ashes:

> "Pere des cieulx, je Te recommande mon esperit; fay et rens à mes persecuteurs selon Ton bon plaisir". Tantost qu'i eust ce dit, ung feu du ciel descendist soudainement sur le roy Hurtault, qui le mist en pouldre et en cendres plus tost que à peines on n'eust point dit ung Ave Maria, et ainsi le paya Dieu sa deserte (*BHCP*, CXXV, 76-83).

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[33] De Crécy, ed., *La Belle Hélène: mise en prose* (see n. 2), p. 459.

Other details of the siege and conversion of Castres are omitted from Wauquelin's rendition as well: the translation of the magical burning candles from the mosque to the new church, and the miracle of the new church in Castres which was built in only one day. Wauquelin's changes in the *BHCP* are actually consistent with those made in the *ManP*, namely that he overall reduces the amount of marvel and admiration of miraculous action, and that he suppresses the long inserted spiritual poems, especially those of the 'epic credo' type. Unlike the *ManP*, where he makes a specific effort to reinsert the romance narrative into a larger master narrative of the crusades, in the *BHCP*, he back-pedals, specifically removing all the *chanson de geste*-style conflation and imprecision. The *BHCP* is thereby returned to the original historical frame that Wauquelin establishes of early Christianity. The pagan other against whom the Christians fight is alternatively called *Turc* or *Sarrasin*, but all the details of who these people might actually be are effaced.

Wauquelin, in any case, does elaborate on the story of Amaury's martyrdom and interpolates Biblical narrative to heighten the importance of that scene. In the *ManP*, as Rouillard has noted, Wauquelin introduces an Old Testament heroine, namely Judith, to 'compare implicitly Philippe's villain to a biblical felon'.[34] A similar interpolation takes place, but on a much more significant scale in the *ManP*. By integrating into his narrative an elaborate scene of crucifixion which explicitly links his hero to Christ, Wauquelin is able to transfer the symbolic power of martyrdom onto the kings of his story, and, in particular, a previously pagan king who refused to convert back and whose sacrifice allowed for the most significant urban conquest in the entire romance. Wauquelin can be seen as both partial to the conventions of *chanson de geste* heroes and the grand campaigns that they launch, and also attempting to distance himself from the vituperative rhetoric of that genre. This is an odd gesture given the enthusiasm over the revival of crusade at the court of Philip the Good and the duke's attempts to fashion himself as the inheritor of the legacy of French crusader kings. Despite the distance taken with respect to Islam, the militancy which remains in these fictions instead refocuses the reader's attention on Christianity and its fundamental narratives. The martyrdom of King Amaury may just bring all kings, and dukes for that matter, a new identity in the consolidation of new Christian 'promised lands'.

This article has examined the relationship between imagination, translation and ideology, as well as the process of recycling of a romance past for a new ducal heroism during the so-called 'autumn' of the Middle Ages. Translation, or rather, the sculpting of an ideologically expedient prose, has

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[34] Rouillard, 'Reading the Reader' (see n. 11), p. 97.

shown itself to be remarkably efficient when it comes to reorienting a ver-
nacular canon around certain key issues: a redefinition and reassertion of
nobility, a dramatisation of monarchical governance, and the sanctity and
potential martyrdom of the noble man. In the recognition scenes of the
*ManP* and the *BHCP*, the prose text exhibits a more public, masculine, and
patron-centred focus. The kinds of transformations we find in fifteenth-
century prose fiction, although they immediately privilege a noble class,
seem tame with respect to the great acts of ideological mendacity confected
in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries in support of political violence.
Nonetheless, like the latter, they exert a constant pressure on a malleable
past, they conveniently forge new versions of a story, and they attempt to
shape artefacts of the past to conform seamlessly, even naturally, to newer
notions of power. The centres of knowledge production of the dukes of
Burgundy were impressive, but can hardly compare with the magnitude and
the influence of the imperial capitals of the last few centuries. Nevertheless,
the embryonic state-building at the time of Philip the Good still needed, just
as any nationalist project of the contemporary world, to experiment with
new fictions of power. The *ManP* and the *BHCP* manufacture such fictions,
sacralised around chivalric customs, and refocused around the noble men
who lead them. The natural complement to this study would be more studies
of the fictions and foundational myths elaborated in local chronicles and
histories, since such stories would treat a much less distant past where local
history is present in the text as more than just filigree. Also, more scholar-
ship is needed which links hagiography, piety, martyrdom, and forms of
state building in Burgundian territories. A plethora of local saints important
to the Valois dukes, as well as the manuscript production about them, has
been documented by Doutrepont.[35] In those materials, no doubt more
elaborate examples can be found than the small vignette about Amaury
discussed here, examples which might just shed light on the formation of
ducal identity in the image of religious narrative and heroism. Perhaps they
would help further elucidate Philip's double identity as ruler with both
crusading pretensions in the Mediterranean and Turkey and state-building
aspirations in his home Burgundy.

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[35] Doutrepont, *La littérature française* (see n. 4), pp. 187-329, documents the
available sources. See Graeme Small's contribution on foundational myths in the
present volume.

# OF BURGUNDIAN DUKES, COUNTS, SAINTS AND KINGS
## (14 C.E. - *c.* 1500)[1]

### Graeme Small

It has seemed axiomatic to some modern historians that the last two Valois dukes of Burgundy, Philip the Good († 1467) and Charles the Bold († 1477), should have striven to obtain a single royal title to supplant the many lesser ones they held. After all, the history of the *Grenzraum* between France and Germany was rich in vanished titles which might be resurrected with profit. One such possibility was the kingdom of Frisia. The poorly documented history of the northerly realm in the first and seventh centuries had gained in substance by Philip's time thanks to its presence in epic tradition.[2] A second and perhaps more credible forerunner was the post-Carolingian middle kingdom of Lotharingia.[3] Henri Pirenne[4] noted that the parallels between the Burgundian dominions and the kingdom created by the Treaty of Verdun in 843 could not have escaped Philip the Good: 'Did his lands not extend over the greater part of the kingdom of Lotharingia,

[2] It is fitting in the context of the present volume to recall the seminal contribution of Prof. Adriaan Jongkees, *Het koninkrijk Friesland in de vijftiende eeuw* (Groningen, 1946), republished in his *Burgundica et varia* (Hilversum, 1990), pp. 27-47.
[3] A recent overview in R. Stein, 'Recht und Territorium. Die lotharingischen Ambitionen Philipps des Guten', in: *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 24 (1997), pp. 481-508.
[4] H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique, II: du commencement du XIVe siècle à la mort de Charles le Téméraire* (Brussels, ²1908), p. 255 (here and elsewhere, my translation unless otherwise indicated).

and did he not appear at an interval of five hundred years as the successor of Lothar II and Zwentibold?' The diplomatic initiatives which considered the erection of a kingdom for the Burgundian dukes, notably in 1447, seemed to confirm their royal aspirations, as did the presence in their libraries of works which harked back to an heroic Lotharingian past.[5]

But the supposed enthusiasm of the Valois dukes for the recreation of these kingdoms has met with scholarly skepticism. Johan Huizinga was among the first to cast doubt on the lure of a troubled and short-lived middle kingdom.[6] Paul Bonenfant demonstrated the speculative and inconclusive quality of the few diplomatic initiatives to consider the prospect of a revival of Lotharingia in any detail.[7] He pointed out that the 1447 initiative emanated, not from Burgundian circles, but from the imperial chancellor Kaspar Schlick, and formed part of a wider plan to regulate the status of the lands which Philip the Good held in the Empire. While this was a valuable goal for the duke, it did not imply any grander ambitions on his part. Nor was there much evidence that Charles the Bold, 'any more than his subjects, had the slightest Lotharingian sentiment'.[8]

Bonenfant concluded his case by arguing that a third royal title was in fact more significant to the Valois court: that of the ancient realm of Burgundy, first a kingdom under Gundobad in the fifth century, conquered by the sons of Clovis, then ruled by Merovingian and Carolingian rulers before several of its constituent parts were reunited under the Rudolfians in 932. Frankish Burgundy west of the Saône moved into the Capetian orbit and developed into the Duchy in the course of the tenth century. The 'second kingdom of Burgundy' – what the French more commonly call 'le royaume d'Arles' – was itself absorbed into the Empire in 1032, its regalia and territories passing to Conrad II and his successors. Bonenfant believed the Burgundian title held a particular fascination for the dukes, and others have since followed his lead: 'neither Philip the Good nor his successor would have peace until they had seen it reborn in all its ancient splendour', claimed Yvon Lacaze, while Yves Cazaux described the idea of Burgundy as 'the bedrock' of Charles the Bold's political action and aspirations.[9]

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[5] Y. Lacaze, 'Le rôle des traditions dans la genèse d'un sentiment national au XVe siècle: la Bourgogne de Philippe le Bon', in: *BEC* 129 (1971), pp. 303-385.

[6] J. Huizinga, 'Eine Krise des romanisch-germanischen Verhältnisses', in: *Historische Zeitschrift* 148 (1933), pp. 1-28.

[7] A.-M. and P. Bonenfant, 'Le projet d'érection des états bourguignons en royaume en 1447', in: *Le Moyen Âge* 45 (1935), pp. 10-23; P. Bonenfant, 'État bourguignon et Lotharingie', in: *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique* 41 (1955), pp. 266-282, and reprinted in his *Philippe le Bon: sa politique, son action* (Brussels, 1996).

[8] Bonenfant, 'État bourguignon' (see n. 7), p. 281.

[9] Lacaze, 'Le rôle des traditions' (see n. 5), p. 305; Y. Cazaux, 'L'idée de Bourgogne, fondement de la politique de Charles le Téméraire', in: *PCEEBM* 10 (1968), pp. 85-91.

What follows is an attempt to test the significance and importance of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy in the political culture of the ducal court and that of their Habsburg successors. The discussion turns around a text which, despite its obvious relevance, has not figured significantly in the debate.

*La chronique des royz*

The text in question is commonly entitled *Aulcunes croniques extraittes d'aulcuns anciens registres et aultres enseignemens d'anciens roix, princes et pluisieurs saintes personnes issus de la tres noble et anchienne maison de Bourgongne* (see Plate 1). For the sake of convenience we may use a shorter title which figures in some of the manuscripts: the *Chronique des royz*. It is important to emphasise at the outset that the title clearly identifies the text as an abridgement or extract from a larger body of work consisting of 'several old histories and other lessons'.[10] The location of these materials (*anciens registres et aultres enseignemens*) is specified in several manuscripts: 'trouvez en la tresorie de Poligny et ailleurs'. The treasury in question is the archival repository of the counts of Burgundy, located in their castle of Grimont near Poligny – a collection so important that the second Valois duke, John the Fearless († 1419), reportedly claimed the county would be lost without it.[11] The abridgement amounts to around 2,500 words and occupies no more than eighteen folios in any surviving manuscript.

The contents of our text may be briefly summarised.[12] The work consists of a series of short entries organised in supposedly chronological order. Every version begins in 14 C.E. with the conversion to Christianity of the first king and queen of Burgundy by Mary Magdalene and their baptism by St Maximin at Aix-en-Provence (see Plate 2).[13] We progress through the christianisation of Burgundy by the couple's son, Étienne, brought back to life with his mother thanks to Mary Magdalene's intervention. It was Étienne, we learn, who had the cross of St Andrew brought to the monastery of Saint-Victor near Marseille, which he established as the emblem of the princes and people of Burgundy against their enemies.[14] The text then

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[10]  We may read 'registre' with Godefroy as a 'livre qui rapporte une histoire'.

[11]  F.-F. Chevalier, *Mémoires historiques sur la ville et seigneurie de Poligny, avec des recherches relatives à l'histoire du Comté de Bourgogne et de ses anciens souverains*, 2 vols. (Lons-le-Saulnier, 1767-1769), vol. 1, pp. 31, 201; vol. 2, pp. 45-46.

[12]  Space does not permit here the edition which the text will recieve in a future publication. Manuscripts and early editions are listed in an appendix.

[13]  Provençal tradition – spread more widely by Vincent of Beauvais among others – held that Lazarus and his sisters, Martha and Mary Magdalene, came to Marseilles with St Maximin and evangelised Provence. Fuller detail in V. Saxer, *Le culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident des origines à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1959), p. 6f.

[14]  The earliest indication of ducal interest in the cross of Saint Andrew occurs in the

makes the first of several dramatic chronological leaps, in this instance
several centuries forward in time to the supposedly Burgundian royal foun-
dation of the great monastery of Saint-Claude in honour of St Oyend and
another saint said to be his brother, Lupicin.[15] The strands of Burgundian
royal history and hagiography are further entwined with mention of St
Sigismund, sixth-century king of Burgundy, and on – although, curiously,
backwards in time – to St Maurice, the third-century Egyptian soldier saint
whose martyrdom was thought to have occurred near Geneva, and which
inspired the foundation of the monastery of St Maurice at Agaune in the
Swiss Valais. We return one entry later to the sixth century for the baptism
of the Frankish King Clovis at the instigation of his Burgundian royal wife,
St Clotild. This event permits the chronicle to observe that the kings of
Burgundy were Christian long before the French. The theme of Burgundian
superiority is carried into the ensuing account of a victory early in the
seventh century over the Frankish King Chlothar II, during which divine
approbation of the Burgundian cause was signalled by the appearance of an
angel with drawn sword in the skies above the battle.[16] The list of
Burgundian kings, saints and royal foundations continues, although not in
chronological order, down to the ninth-century hero Girart de Roussillon,
passing St Eutrope bishop of Orange and St Germain bishop of Auxerre en
route. Girart's seventeen victories over the French and his completion of the
abbey church of Vézelay struck the author as the salient points of his reign,
although he is also made the son of a king of Burgundy, and is identified as
a particular devotee of Mary Magdalene and the founder of a great number
of churches. We are reminded at this juncture that Provence, where Girart
eventually withdrew, was part of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy. Several
saints associated with the cathedral church of Besançon ensue before we
reach the twelfth century with St Bernard of Clairvaux.[17] Further saintly

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reign of Philip the Bold, who elicited the gift of a fragment of the cross from the
abbey of Saint-Victor. John the Fearless adopted the cross as his emblem, a practice
continued by Philip the Good who made Saint Andrew the patron of the Golden
Fleece. Our text projects the link furthest back in time. Cf. P. Gras, 'La croix de
Bourgogne', in: *PCEEBM* 21 (1981), pp. 21-25.
[15] Saint Lupicin was indeed believed to be the brother of the founder, but the latter
was Saint Romain, not Saint Oyend (S. Eugendus), who was the fourth abbot. The
monastery later took its name from its twelfth abbot, Saint-Claude. The foundation
of the monastery is commonly located around 425-430: J. de Trevillers, *Sequania
monastica. Dictionnaire des abbayes, couvents, collèges et hôpitaux conventuels,
ermitages de Franche-Comté et du diocèse de Besançon antérieurs à 1790* (Vesoul,
1949), p. 88.
[16] Possibly the battle of Étampes, said in the text to have witnessed the victory of
'Thierry roy de Bourgogne' over 'Lotaire roy de France ii de ce nom l'an vi^c et v'.
[17] Sources for the life of St Bernard were readily available, including a vernacular
translation of an ealier *vita* by Guillaume d'Autun, abbot of Clairvaux, written some

offshoots of the Burgundian royal line are accompanied by a reminder that Savoy – like Provence – was once part of the kingdom. These entries precede the startling claim that Frederick Barbarossa († 1190) was the nephew of Boso, king of Burgundy († 887). The sleight of hand enabled the author to move neatly over the decline and final absorption of the Burgundian kingdom early in the eleventh century into the Holy Roman Empire and onwards to a suitably prestigious imperial context within which he could revive his account. Barbarossa had, after all, been the most successful of the king-emperors in giving substance to their authority over Burgundy.[18] Thereafter, the genealogical links are made to extend through the thirteenth century down the line of the imperial counts of Burgundy – and not the Capetian duchy of Burgundy, it should be emphasised – until we reach the spendthrift Count Otto IV, who sold the county to Philip IV of France by the convention of Vincennes in 1295. The engagement of Otto's daughter Jeanne to the future Philip V by the same convention is recorded, likewise the eventual inheritance of the county by their grand-daughter Margaret. The intervening union of duchy and county under Eudes IV duke of Burgundy finds no mention. The first of the Valois dukes is reached via Margaret's eponymous grand-daughter, wife of Philip the Bold. The endpoint of the text varies greatly from one manuscript to another: the oldest ends with the death of Philip the Good, although others carry the history of Burgundy beyond the Valois dukes and on to their Habsburg successors. Some copies of this living text were brought up to the time of writing by the inclusion of Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor.

The *Chronique des royz* is thus a curious work with a number of outstanding characteristics. The construction of Burgundian dynastic continuity is evident, from the first kings, through the empire, down the comital branch and on to the Valois dukes and their Habsburg successors. Dynastic history and hagiography are fused to create an aura of sanctity around the Burgundian line, while the influence of the kings of Burgundy is set over a wide geographical area incorporating Provence and Savoy. Finally, the text places a marked emphasis on an independent Burgundian past or, where the kingdom and its constituent parts appear subordinate, on links to the Empire rather than to France. The *Chronique des royz* is frankly hostile to the French, in fact: just as it remembers obscure Burgundian saints, so it overlooks the immediate Valois origins of the Burgundian dukes through John II's paternity of Philip the Bold.

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time between 1428 and 1448: S. Bledniak, 'L'hagiographie de Saint Bernard au XVIe siècle', in: P. Arabeyre, J. Berlioz and P. Poirrier, eds., *Vies et légendes de Saint Bernard de Clairvaux. Création, diffusion, réception (XIIe-XXe siècles)* (Cîteaux, 1993), pp. 91-115.

[18] J.-Y. Mariotte, *Le comté de Bourgogne sous les Hohenstaufen, 1156-1208* (Paris, 1963), p. 47f.

Striking though it may be, the *Chronique des royz* is, of course, far from unique in late medieval French historiography. In tone and intention the text may be compared to a number of dynastic genealogies which had a propagandistic function.[19] Take, for instance, the *Généalogie des roys, ducs et princes de Bretaigne* (1486) of the official Breton historian Pierre Le Baud, who enjoyed access to ducal archives to write his work.[20] 'Ignoring the caesuras of History', he too demonstrated dynastic continuity from Brutus to his master Duke François II in a similarly limited number of folios, taking the opportunity to celebrate the venerable age of the dynasty, its indivisibility, the supremacy of the Bretons over the French and their indomitable spirit. Much has been made of the emergence of royal ideology in later medieval France, but these Burgundian and Breton texts are forceful reminders that the royalist vision was just one among several which captured imaginations in the kingdom or on its immediate periphery.[21]

The glaring factual errors in our abridged chronicle have discouraged some commentators from taking it seriously.[22] It may also have been easy to discount the text given that no previous commentator could cite more than two manuscripts and one early printed edition. Further research reveals that the reception of the chronicle was a more significant cultural event worthy of comment.[23] There are at least 46 manuscripts in existence. Two others

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[19] L. Genicot, *Les généalogies* (Turnhout, 1975); B. Guenée, 'Les généalogies entre l'histoire et la politique: la fierté d'être capétien, en France, au Moyen Âge', in: *Annales: Économies Sociétés Civilisation* 33 (1978), pp. 450-477; G. Melville, 'Vorfahren und Vorgänger. Spätmittelalterliche Genealogien als dynastische Legitimation zur Herrschaft', in: P.-J. Schuler, ed., *Die Familie als sozialer und historischer Verband. Untersuchungen zum Spätmittelalter und zur frühen Neuzeit* (Sigmaringen, 1987), pp. 203-309.

[20] For this and what follows see J. C. Cassard, 'L'histoire au renfort de la diplomatie: la *Généalogie des roys, ducs et princes de Bretagne* de Pierre Le Baud (1486)', in: *107e Congrès national des Sociétés savantes. Brest, 1982. Section philologique et historique, II: questions d'histoire de Bretagne* (Paris, 1984), pp. 229-245.

[21] See, for instance, the reworking and translation of Colette Beaune's *Naissance de la nation France* (1985) published as *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France* (Berkeley/Oxford, 1991).

[22] Negative comments abound in the marginalia: the chronicle seemed a 'pitoyable pièce' (BM Besançon Collection Baverel 24, fol. 2v), with claims which led readers to criticise its crass ignorance (BM Metz 855, fol. 2v), or to observe simply that particular entries were not true (BM Besançon 1018, fol. 300).

[23] The text recently figured in a paper presented in a conference on the theme of 'Méthodes et écriture de l'histoire, XIVe-XVIe siècle' at the University of Bordeaux in September 2002 by E. Lecuppre-Desjardins, entitled 'Maîtriser le temps pour maîtriser les lieux: la politique historiographique bourguignonne dans l'appropriation des terres du nord du XVe siècle'. I am grateful to the author for her courtesy in sending me a copy of her paper in response to an earlier version of this material which I made available to her.

were destroyed in the wars of the twentieth century. Moreover, at least five early printed editions were made in the first half of the sixteenth century.[24]

In what follows the history of the text will be taken in three phases. At each stage the *Chronique des royz* can be linked to other known indices of a Burgundian consciousness at the close of the Middle Ages. To anticipate, the evidence indicates that rather than reaching a highpoint under Philip the Good or Charles the Bold, the idea of ancient Burgundy appeared rather intermittently in these reigns; the apogee was attained later, under the Habsburg rulers of the Burgundian dominions.

*The Burgundy of Philip the Good*

The first stage of the story is located in the reign of Philip the Good. A remarkable phase of territorial expansion was complete by the mid-1440s, by which time the third Valois duke had added Namur, Holland, Hainaut, Zeeland, Brabant and Luxembourg to his many dominions. That same decade witnessed the first of several acquisitions for the ducal library which provided the duke with histories of the component parts of his growing empire. Old chronicles of Holland and Zeeland, Brabant and Hainaut were translated into French, several of which enjoyed considerable success at the ducal court. It is tempting to see these acquisitions as part of a conscious ducal policy to project Burgundian rule deep into the legitimising past. However, it must also be pointed out that local elites played an active role in the promotion of such historiographical projects – men for whom the arrival of Burgundian rule was an opportunity, perhaps even a source of anxiety, certainly a landmark in the history of their region. Such figures included Wolfart VI van Borselen, whose idea it was to have Jan Beke's *Chronographia* (c. 1346) of Holland translated for Philip the Good, or Simon Nockart from Mons, who first suggested translating the *Annales* of Hainaut by Jacques de Guise (pre-1399).[25] In all such cases the emergence of regional histories is attributable to a combination of ducal interest, enthusiastic locals and the availability of older texts as sources. A similar – although not identical – pattern emerges in the writing of the history of Burgundy, the oldest of the Valois duke's possessions.

A first problem to confront was the availability of sources to write such a work. There was some comment on the early history of Burgundy in Caesar's *Commentaries* and a few other texts on Gaul. There were saints' lives to draw on, and bits and pieces which could be garnered from Frede-

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[24] See Appendix.

[25] A fuller treatment of the matters discussed in this paragraph will appear as 'Local Elites and 'National' Mythologies in the Burgundian Dominions in the Fifteenth Century', in: R. Suntrup and J. Veenstra, eds., *Building the Past/Die Konstruktion der eigenen Vergangenheit* (Frankfurt am Main, 2006), pp. 229-245.

gar, Gregory of Tours or royal chronicles. But great monastic sources were thin on the ground.[26] Auguste Moliner's voluminous *Sources de l'Histoire de France* of 1904 noted the 'extraordinary dearth' of chronicles written in the county of Burgundy in the high Middle Ages.[27] Crucially, these disparate elements had not passed through the hands of a master narrator in the fourteenth century whose work might have facilitated the Burgundian appropriation of the past – such as the Franciscan Jacques de Guise had done in Hainaut, or the Praemonstratensian Jan Beke in Holland. Writing early in the sixteenth century, Jean Lemaire de Belges, official chronicler of the Habsburg rulers of Burgundy, complained of precisely this problem: he had had great difficulty 'specifying the origin and descent of the kings of Burgundy ... for nowhere could I find this information gathered in one corpus, as I will endeavour to do here'.[28] Compared to Flanders, Brabant or Hainaut, the two Burgundies were lands without histories.

The problem of sources may explain why the first sign of ducal interest in the Burgundian past was not a history of the region itself, but rather of one of its heroes: Girart de Roussillon, ruler of southern Burgundy in the second half of the ninth century. Philip's personal interest in Girart is well known, but is worth emphasising here given Girart's presence in the *Chronique des royz*. Philip visited Girart's tomb at the monastery of Pothières in July 1433 and may already have possessed a fourteenth-century romance on his life by that stage. In 1446, he sent a messenger to the monastery of Vézelay, reputedly one of Girart's foundations, to borrow works on the life of the hero in Latin and French. These were copied by two notaries at Dijon and taken to Jean Wauquelin, the translator involved in some other projects of regional history, who turned them into a lavishly illustrated prose account of Girart's exploits. Philip the Good even asked for drafts of the book to be brought for inspection to court before it was set on parchment. The movement of materials from Vézelay to Dijon, to Mons in Hainaut where Wauquelin worked, thence to the itinerant court and back to the scribe, testifies to the duke's desire to learn more about the illustrious figure.[29]

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[26] An idea of the limitations of the sources in Legouz de Gerland, *Essai sur l'Histoire des premiers rois de Bourgogne et sur l'origine des Bourguignons* (Dijon, 1770), pp. 1-10.

[27] A. Molinier, *Les sources de l'histoire de France, I.2: époque féodale, les Capétiens jusqu'en 1180* (Paris, 1902), p. 141.

[28] Jean Lemaire de Belges, *Œuvres*, ed. J. Stécher, 4 vols. (Leuven, 1882-1885), vol. 2, p. 367.

[29] Summaries of this well-known story in Y. Cazaux, 'Philippe le Bon et *Girart de Roussillon*. Du manuscrit d'un moine de Pothières au chef-d'œuvre de Jean Wauquelin', in: *La chanson de geste et le mythe carolingien. Mélanges René Louis*, 2 vols. (Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay, 1982), vol. 2, pp. 903-925; G. Doutrepont, *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1909), pp. 22-30.

It was not until much later that Philip the Good finally commissioned a history of Burgundy comparable to those he had already ordered for some of his other domains. In the ducal accounts for 1460 we read that a certain Hugues de Tolins – described as a chronicler, priest and master of arts – was sent to the duke's southern dominions 'to inquire, by means of the endowment of churches and otherwise, into the names of the kings and dukes who ruled Burgundy in the past, and to find out about their deeds and the foundations they made, in order to write a chronicle'.[30] The duke's answer to the problem of the Burgundian sources was admirably direct: he appointed a man to find some. The initiative is reminiscent of Edward I's instructions in 1291 to English monasteries to search 'their chronicles, registers and other archives, both ancient and modern, of whatever date and shape' to secure proof of his claim to overlordship of Scotland. In the end that particular initiative produced results which were 'scrappy and unsatisfactory'.[31] Ambitious rulers could not always bend History to their will, a lesson which was not unique to Edward I as we shall see.

The writer appointed to carry out the work for Philip the Good remains a mysterious figure. The only men of that name found in matriculation records for universities of the region are two students who took masters degrees at the University of Cologne: 'Joh. Hugonis de Tolnis' (1431) and 'Hinr. Hugonis de Tolonis' (1438).[32] Assuming a conventional undergraduate career in each case, these men would have been in their early to late forties in 1460. They are said to have come from Tholen, a small town located in an enclave of the bishopric of Liège in the county of Zeeland, which Philip came to rule in the same decade the Tholens were studying at Cologne.[33] If Hugues de Tolins was either Jean Hugues de Tholen or Henri,

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[30] ADN B2040 (Recette générale de toutes les finances, 1 Oct. 1460-30 Sept. 1461), fol. 215. Also in the pre-register, fols. 16v-17. The document was first published in G. Peignot, *Catalogue d'une partie des livres composant l'ancienne bibliothèque des ducs de Bourgogne de la dernière race* (Dijon, 1830), p. 37, thereafter in L. de Laborde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne: étude sur les lettres, les arts et l'industrie pendant le XVe siècle*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1849-1852), vol. 1, part 2, p. 473, no. 42.

[31] M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record. England 1066-1307* (Oxford, ²1993), pp. 152-153.

[32] H. Keussen, *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln, 1389 bis 1559. Erster Band, 1389-1475* (Bonn, 1928), pp. 308 (no. 198), 336 (nos. 26, 169), 407 (no. 26). I also looked at Paris and Leuven.

[33] *Ibidem*. There are few placenames in topographical dictionaries which suit, although of course the name may not have derived from a place. There is a Tollon in the Côte d'Or, the site of a priory dependent on the abbey of Molesme: A. Roserot, *Dictionnaire topographique de la Côte d'Or* (Paris, 1924), p. 394. Other possibilities are listed in the *Dictionnaire national des communes de France* (Paris, ¹⁹1970): Thollon (Haute-Savoie), Tholon (Loire), Tollent (Pas-de-Calais). The suggestion that Hugues de Tolins might have been related to the official ducal

it follows that he conducted his research in the south as an outsider. The same conclusion emerges from Burgundian records discussed below. In reality, however, the true identity of Hugues de Tolins is unknown.

From the outset the project seemed to have a number of strengths. Hugues de Tolins was well-qualified: not only was he an educated cleric comparable to those responsible for other regional histories, he was a writer already engaged in work which complemented the task the duke had entrusted to him. From incidental expenses incurred in 1460-1461 we learn that the chronicler was working on two further projects, 'a certain martyrology and an abridgement of the beginning of battles'. What precisely this last item might have been is very difficult to say.[34] The first of these projects was an ideal preparation for the chronicle proposed in the ducal remit, however. Historical martyrologies provided ample information on saints' lives, including members of royal families in Burgundy: the late sixth-century martyrology attributed to Jerome often included the Burgundian King Guntram, for instance, later considered a saint.[35] Local churches which Hugues de Tolins was instructed to visit contained information that was bound to be of use to the chronicler. The monastery of Saint-Claude possessed an inventory of its privileges, titles and letters, among them the record of an annual donation by Chilperic 'King of Burgundy' to the institution, as well as a gift made to the house at the request of the abbot, Saint Lupicin, at Geneva in 385 (to mention just two of the figures who eventually appear in the *Chronique des royz*).[36] Between such promising sources and the experienced official historian lay local churchmen who were often willing to publicize time-hallowed connections between their

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chronicler George Chastelain was based on the mistaken belief that Chastelain was decended from the Tollin family, hereditary castellans of Aalst: G. Small, *George Chastelain and the Shaping of Valois Burgundy: Political and Historical Culture at Court in the Fifteenth Century* (Woodbridge/Rochester N.Y., 1997), pp. 15-17. However, it is possible that Hugues de Tolins was linked to this family himself. Finally, a late source speaks of Hugues *de Tollens*, rather closer to Tholen than the spelling (and therefore pronunciation) of Tolins one commonly finds in the Burgundian records: H. Y. Thompson, *Illustrations from One Hundred Manuscripts from the Library of H. Y. Thompson* (London, 1918), no. XCVI (text p. 23), discussed further below.

[34] ADN B2040, fol. 215. Honoré Bouvet's *L'arbre des batailles* was referred to on occasion as 'le livre des batailles' (as it was in BM Rouen, ms 995, for example). Henry Romain's fifteenth-century translation and abridgement of part of Livy's decades included an 'abrégié de la premiere bataille punique meue et faicte entre les Rommains et les Carthageniens': F. Hennebert, *Archives tournaisiennes historiques et littéraires: recueil concernant Tournai et le Tournaisis*, vol. 1 (Tournai, 1842), p. 127.

[35] J. Dubois, *Les martyrologes du Moyen Âge latin* (Turnhout, 1978), p. 33.

[36] BM Besançon 766.

institution and the ruling dynasty. Pierre Crapillet was one such local ecclesiastic, whose own work during Philip's reign sought to demonstrate that the Hospital of the Holy Spirit at Dijon, of which he was rector, was an ancient ducal foundation – an argument he hoped would save his institution from the tutelage of the archbishop of Besançon.[37] Materials, a suitable man and motivated locals – everything seemed to be in place for the first ever history of the ancient kingdom.

Hugues de Tolins's work certainly took him south to Burgundy. His presence in the Duchy is attested in January 1461, when he sought a grant to enable him to return to the duke after completing a period of research.[38] By that stage the chronicler was in receipt of a pension which Philip the Good promised to pay until such time as a benefice of comparable revenue could be found. The sum of 40lbs was paid annually to the duke's 'master chronicler' down to 15 June 1467, date of the third duke's death.[39] For unknown reasons, however, the project petered out. Charles the Bold decided not to renew Tolins's pension. Hugues himself disappeared from the historical record.[40] The history he was commissioned to write has never been found. It may be significant in this connection that Tolins's annual pension was drawn on the receipt-general of Brabant. Either the chronicler lived in the northern duchy, or he spent a large proportion of his time there.

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[37] R. Bultot, 'Pierre Crapillet, Philippe le Bon et le manuscrit à peintures A4 de l'Hôpital du Saint-Esprit de Dijon: remarques de méthode à propos d'une étude récente', in: *Le Moyen Âge* 102 (1996), pp. 245-287.

[38] ACO, B1747 (Recette du duché et comté de Bourgogne, 1 Oct. 1460-30 Sept. 1461), fols. 101v-102. The officers of the *Chambre des comptes* at Dijon wrote on 28 January 1461 to the receiver-general, Hugues de Faletans, instructing him to pay 8 fr. 3 gr. of royal money to enable Hugues to travel north to the duke.

[39] The title 'master chronicler' occurs in the ACO document referred to immediately above and in BnF Collection de Bourgogne, no. 22, fol. 83. Details of the pension are set out in AGR, Chambres des comptes (hereinafter CC) 17, fols. 175v-176. For a transcription, see A. Pinchart, 'Archives des arts, des sciences et des lettres. § 102. Chroniqueurs, savants, historiens', in: *Messager des sciences historiques ou archives des arts et de la bibliographie de Belgique. Année 1884* (Ghent, 1884), pp. 167-183, at pp. 169-170. Payments of the pension are recorded in AGR, CC 2420/1, 1 Oct. 1460-30 Sept. 1461, fols. 76 r/v; CC 2420/2, 1 Oct. 1461-30 Sept. 1462, fols. 70v-71; CC 2421/1, 1 Oct. 1462-30 Sept. 1463, fol. 68v; CC 2421/2, 1 Oct. 1463-30 Sept. 1464, fols. 69v-70; CC 2422/1, 1 Oct. 1464-30 Sept. 1465, fol. 78; CC 2422/2, 1 Oct. 1465-30 Sept. 1466, fol. 73v. It should be noted, however, that Tolins's remuneration was a fraction of that awarded annually to the duke's official chronicler George Chastelain: see Small, *George Chastelain* (see n. 33), p. 110.

[40] Had Tolins himself died in the interim, the fact would surely have been noted in the accounts (as it was, for instance, in the case of George Chastelain). The final payment, and the fact that *syne voirschreven pensie by mynen genedichs heere ny zynde* (Charles the Bold) *gerogeert was*, are both recorded in AGR CC 2422/3, 1 Oct. 1466-15 June 1467, fols. 85v-86.

Residence in Brabant could encourage contact with the court during the later years of Philip's reign, but it was not convenient for receiving or gathering materials to write a history of Burgundy. The complicated logistics of securing materials for Jean Wauquelin to write his life of Girart de Roussillon while based in Mons are proof enough of the difficulties to be faced. For this reason or for others, the project of writing a history of Burgundy stalled at the end of the reign of Philip the Good.

During his apparently brief career, however, Hugues de Tolins acquired at least one protector other than the duke. When the chronicler visited the Duchy of Burgundy in 1460-1461 to conduct his research, he was refused money by the duke's financial officers to return to Philip the Good in the north. The *Chambre des comptes* reversed its decision following the intervention of Jean Martin, who advised them he knew Hugues de Tolins well, and that his grounds for claiming money – his journey south to establish the names and deeds of past Burgundian dukes and kings from the foundations they had left in churches, and to make a chronicle from the resulting material – were legitimate.[41]

At this stage in his career Jean Martin held the posts of *valet de chambre*, *sommelier de corps* and *garde des joyaux* of Philip the Good.[42] He was no stranger to the duke's literary enterprises, a fact which may have had a bearing on his support for Hugues de Tolins.[43] As keeper of the ducal

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[41] ACO B1747, fols. 101v-102. The previously unedited text reads: *A Maistre Hugues de Tolins, maistre croniqueur de mondit seigneur, lequel estoit venu ès pays de par deça ou il estoit envoié pour enquerir et savoir tant par les fondacions des eglises comme autrement les noms des roys et ducs qui ont esté en Bourgongne le temps passé et les fondacions et choses par eulx faictes durant leurs vies afin d'icelles rediger et faire croniques, la somme de huit frans trois gros monnoye royal que messieurs des comptes et mondit seigneur a Dijon, par leurs lettres de mandement adressans audit Hugues de Faletans, données en date le xxviij jour de janvier l'an mil cccc et soixante* [old style], *lui ont,* par l'advis de Jehan Martin, varlet de mondit seigneur, qui a bonne congnoissance de lui et qui leur a affirmé la cause de sa venue estre telle comme dessus est dit, *fait bailler et delivrer pour soy en retourner devers mondit seigneur. Pour ce paié a lui par vertu desdictes lettres d'iceulx mesdis seigneurs des comptes cy rendues, ensemble quictance d'icelui Maistre Hugues, escript au dos d'icelles. viij francs iij gros.*

[42] For these offices, see for instance M.-T. Caron, *La noblesse dans le duché de Bourgogne, 1315-1477* (Lille, 1987), p. 396; ADN B2034, fol. 29v (1459); ACO B1301 (November 1456). I am grateful to Mme Caron for intial guidance regarding the Martin family.

[43] For the details of this paragraph, see J. Paviot, 'Jacques de Brégilles, garde-joyaux des ducs de Bourgogne Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire', in: *Revue du Nord* 77 (1995), pp. 313-320; A. De Schrijver, 'Jacques de Brégilles, responsable de la bibliothèque des ducs de Bourgogne sous Charles le Téméraire', in: C. van den Bergen-Pantens, ed., *Les Chroniques de Hainaut ou les ambitions d'un prince bourguignon* (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 83-89; J. C. B. M. Kervyn de Lettenhove, ed.,

jewels, Martin's post was associated with the care of Philip the Good's books: his colleague in the position, Jacques de Brégilles, another Burgundian, oversaw the execution of several fine manuscripts and issued receipts acknowledging completion of items for the ducal library. The duke's official chronicler, George Chastelain, considered Jean Martin and Jacques de Brégilles to be two of Philip's most reliable servants at the time of his death. Martin's personal collection of books would later include a copy of Chastelain's *Temple de Bocace*. Around 1459 he was one of several intimates who contributed a story to the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, a ducal collection of tales which was also inspired by Boccaccio.

Jean Martin was clearly well placed to know or judge the importance of the work which Hugues de Tolins had embarked upon. But his views were bound to carry weight with the financial administrators in Dijon for other reasons, not least the power and influence he and his family had acquired locally. Jean's great-grandfather, Humbelot Martin († 1401), was receiver of the *bailliage* of Dijon under Duke Philip the Bold, *garde de la monnaie* at Auxonne and a key figure in local tax-raising. Humbelot was ennobled in 1365.[44] His son, Jean Martin's eponymous grandfather, was a financier and merchant who traded in cloth and wine from Dijon and Auxonne, but who also supplied goods to the ducal household in Paris. Jean I continued the family tradition of municipal office-holding as an *échevin* in Dijon on four occasions after 1383. He owned property in the city near the church of Our Lady and was the nephew of Master Étienne de Saulx, the latter no doubt connected to the influential de Saulx family from which several ducal adminstrators emerged under the Valois dukes.[45] Jean I Martin's son, the father of Jean II, was named Jacot. The family's network of local alliances was extended by Jacot's marriage to Margaret Machefoing, daughter of Monnot, castellan of Rouvres. Rouvres was an important ducal stronghold where Duke John the Fearless had been born, and where he had spent much of his childhood. Philip the Good was also born at Rouvres – indeed, Monnot Machefoing's wife was his wetnurse. Jacot Martin is listed among the *commensaux* of Dijon in 1442, confirming the family's status within the

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*Œuvres de Georges Chastellain*, 8 vols. (Brussels, 1863-1866), vol. 5, pp. 230-232; F. P. Sweetster, ed., *Les cent nouvelles nouvelles* (Geneva-Paris, 1966), pp. 145-149, 461-466; S. Bliggenstorfer, ed., *Georges Chastelain. Le temple de Bocace. Édition commentée* (Bern, 1988), pp. 67-68.

[44] T. Dutour, *Une société de l'honneur* (Paris, 1996), pp. 133, 352 n. 53, 409, 432 n. 46; F. Dumas-Dubourg, *Le monnayage des ducs de Bourgogne* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1988), p. 135.

[45] H. Dubois, *Les foires de Chalon et le commerce dans la vallée de la Saône à la fin du moyen âge (vers 1280-vers 1430)* (Paris, 1976), pp. 184, 449; Dutour, *Une société de l'honneur* (see n. 44), p. 396; ACO Recueil Peincédé XVII, p. 96. The nobility of Jean Martin is attested in 1421: *ibidem*, XXV, p. 699. On the de Saulx family, see Dutour, *Une société de l'honneur*, pp. 157, 418, 427, 429.

noble and governing elite of the town.[46] His son, Jean II, who most directly
concerns us here, later came to hold the office of castellan of Rouvres
himself.[47] Jean II Martin's importance in the duchy of Burgundy would
increase still further in 1462 after the execution for treason of his cousin's
husband, Jean Coustain, *valet de chambre* of Philip the Good, some of
whose lands he bought from the duke.[48] At court he would eventually
become *premier sommelier de corps*, entrusted with Philip the Good's most
valuable personal effects.[49] But already in 1460-1461 Jean Martin was a
typical example of a regional noble from a trusted family, a man com-
parable – if not quite in social standing, then at least in office-holding and
local influence – to courtier-patrons of local histories like Wolfart VI van
Borselen in Zeeland.

   Tolins's precisely-defined research project suggests a marked interest in
the legitimising value of the Burgundian past which was furthered by local
support at a high level. To this extent Burgundy is similar to other ducal
territories which became the subject of historical research under Philip the
Good. However, we must also bear in mind that Hugues de Tolins's history
of Burgundy was commissioned much later than the duke's initiatives to

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[46] For the Machefoing marriage, see Caron, *La noblesse* (see n. 42), p. 395 and
ACO Recueil Peincedé XVII, p. 102. For Rouvres, see R. Vaughan, *John the
Fearless. The Growth of Burgundian Power* (London, 1966; reprinted with updated
bibliographical essay by B. Schnerb, Woodbridge 2002), pp. 2-3; H. Chabeuf,
'Charles le Téméraire à Dijon en janvier 1474', *Mémoires de la Société bour-
guignonne de géographie et d'histoire* 18 (1902), pp. 81-349, at p. 114. For Jeanne
de Courcelles, Monnot Machefoing's wife, as Philip the Good's wetnurse, see J.
Bartier, *Légistes et gens de finance au XVe siècle* (Brussels, 1952), p. 49 n. 3. I am
grateful to Edgar De Blieck for drawing this reference to my attention. For Jacot's
commensal status, see ACO Recueil Peincédé XVIII, p. 524.
[47] The appointment was made in June 1453: ACO B 11832, Bundle 2, no. 3179.
[48] For the relationship between Coustain and Martin, see *ibidem*. Many of Cous-
tain's confiscated lands were sold by Philip the Good to Jean Martin in October
1462, thereby keeping the lordships within Coustain's kin group. The sale is
recorded in ACO B417. In 1465, 1466 and 1468 Jean Martin is mentioned as *gruier
de Bourgogne*, the officer entrusted with the revenues and upkeep of the duke's
rivers, lakes, ponds and forests (ACO B10.421, no. 93; B475, fol. 165; B480). I
have been unable to consult P. Gresser, *La gruierie du comté de Bourgogne aux
XIVe et XVe siècles* (Turnhout, 2004). Exemptions from local taxes granted to Jean
in Dijon in 1466 and 1474 are noted in ACO Recueil Peincédé XVII, pp. 813, 821.
He figures on a list of residents in the parish of Saint-Médard in the town 'devers
l'an 1470' (*ibidem*, XVIII, p. 532). The importance of this parish in Dijon has been
explained in the following terms: *Centre du gouvernement, Saint-Médard qui abrite
l'hôtel ducal, la chambre des comptes, la chapelle du duc et l'hôtel de ville, est
surtout la paroisse des clercs et des hommes de loi*; see F. Humbert, *Les finances
municipales de Dijon du milieu du XIVe siècle à 1477* (Paris, 1961), p. 24.
[49] Chastelain, *Œuvres* (see n. 43), vol. 5, p. 231.

procure other works of regional history; and that unlike those other works, it made little or no impact on the historical culture of the Burgundian court under Philip. What other evidence is there for a sustained articulation of Burgundian identity based on the ancient kingdom at the ducal court? Three episodes are commonly cited in this regard.

1. A few months before Philip visited Girart de Roussillon's tomb at Pothières in 1433, his envoy to the Council of Basel, Jean Germain, bishop of Nevers, embarked on a lengthy dispute with the ambassadors of the imperial electors over who should take precedence in the seating arrangements. In his justification of his master's superiority, the bishop stated that Philip was the descendant of Gundulph, ancient king of Burgundy.[50] However, the observation formed part of a longer strand of descent from Janus son of Japhet, and that strand was itself one of three comparable lines, the first of which demonstrated Philip's supposed descent from Francus of Troy (and thereby the French royal line). At this point the ancient kingdom of Burgundy was clearly a minor element in ducal ideology.[51]

2. In March 1448, around the time Jean Wauquelin was completing his work on Girart de Roussillon, Philip the Good's almoner, Jean Jouffroy, dean of Vergy in Burgundy, went to Rome to confirm Philip's allegiance to Nicholas V.[52] The duke's man delivered an oration listing the territories which the pope could now count among his loyal supporters. It was natural in this context to emphasise the importance of these lands – hence, one suspects, his reference to 'our Burgundy, once a powerful and ancient realm', the first province of Gaul to be christianized, the homeland of Clovis's wife who brought Christianity to the Franks, and the land of Cluny and Cîteaux.[53] Jouffroy later subjected another pope to his knowledge of the Burgundian past, on this occasion Pius II[54] at the congress of Mantua in

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[50] For comment and bibliography, see R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good. The Apogee of Burgundian Power* (London, 1970; repr. with updated bibliographical essay by G. Small, Woodbridge 2002), p. 208; Melville, 'Vorfahren und Vorgänger' (see n. 19), pp. 204-205.

[51] It is worth noting, however, that an early sixteenth-century copy of our abridged chronicle survives in a composite manuscript in which it is immediately preceded by a copy of Germain's speech at Basel: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, hs 2579, fols. 47-60: *Ce qui fut propose au concile de Basle pour Monseigneur de Bourgoingne par l'evesque de Nevers et aultres ses ambassadeurs*; fols. 60-65: *Croniques des roys et ducz de Bourgoingne depuis l'an xiiij apres la resurrection et sont abregees*. The manuscript belonged to a member of the Croÿ family (see below).

[52] The most recent biography is C. Märtl, *Kardinal Jean Jouffroy. Leben und Werk* (Sigmaringen, 1996).

[53] C. Fierville, *Le cardinal Jean Jouffroy et son temps* (Paris, 1874), pp. 248-254, at p. 252.

[54] Text in J. C. Kervyn de Lettenhove, ed., *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de la*

1459. On the basis of Caesar, Ammianus Marcellinus and especially Dio-
dorus of Sicily, Jouffroy attempted to list the ancient tribes which had
originally inhabited Burgundy. The two speeches of Jouffroy are together
the most detailed discussion of the ancient Burgundian past to that point,
and are based upon the wide learning for which the prelate was famed in his
day. It is possible that Jouffroy's scholarship prompted thoughts of more
extensive research into the ancient history of the kingdom of Burgundy in
the months leading to the appearance on the scene of Hugues de Tolins. If
so, however, it was work which Jouffroy would leave to others. Although
he attempted to secure for himself his native archbishopric of Besançon
where members of his family were among the canons of the cathedral, the
erudite connoisseur of Burgundian history finished his career in France as
bishop of Albi, a post to which he was nominated by Pius II in December
1462.[55]

3. The third commonly-cited occasion when the ancient kingdom of
Burgundy resurfaced occurred in 1452, during negotiations between royal
and ducal representatives over the precise location of the frontier between
the county of Burgundy and the kingdom of France. Confronted by a
determined royal opponent, the ducal procurator Jean Poinçot resorted to
the argument that the disputed lands had originally belonged to the 'ancient
and excellent kingdom of Burgundy' which 'extended along the Rhine
(which is on the German side) as far south as Arles (which is situated to-
wards the sea near Marseille), and was as wide as the whole of Provence
(which is on the Italian side) right up to the rivers Marne and Seine, as far
as the city of Sens'.[56] Most of the kingdom of Burgundy had since been in-
corporated into other lordships following internal divisions and misfortunes,
but the county of Burgundy – so the duke's procurator believed – remained
as a vestige of the kingdom and retained the sovereign status of its prede-
cessor. Needless to say the king's representatives chose not to give credence
to the argument.

Set against these episodes and Philip the Good's well-documented in-
terest in Girart de Roussillon, the commission given to the elusive Hugues
de Tolins attests to a growing interest in the ancient kingdom during
Philip's reign. It is worth pointing out that this interest, as in other regions,
can be linked to enthusiastic locals: Jouffroy and Germain were native Bur-

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*Belgique sous la domination des ducs de Bourgogne. Textes latins*, vol. 3 (Brussels,
1876), pp. 117-206.

[55] On his attempt to secure Besançon, see Fierville, *Le cardinal Jean Jouffroy* (see
n. 53), pp. 33-34.

[56] J. Richard, 'Les débats entre le roi de France et le duc de Bourgogne sur la
frontière du royaume à l'ouest de la Saône: l'enquête de 1452', in: *Bulletin histo-
rique et philologique du Comité des travaux historiques* (1964), pp. 113-132, at pp.
120-121.

gundians, as was the duke's procurator in 1452. Jean Martin may have been motivated by similar enthusiasm when he offered his timely assistance to Hugues de Tolins. Burgundian administrators and clerics enjoyed a dispro-portionate influence in the running of Philip the Good's many lands from Brussels and elsewhere in the North.[57] We may not be stretching things too far to detect a willingness on their part to hitch a southern sense of identity on to the (increasingly northern) political authority they served. However, the frailty of the chain of evidence here is also quite apparent. We have three pieces of special pleading by natives; ducal admiration for a supposed ancestor who no doubt appealed on a number of levels, not just as some pan-Burgundian hero; and a chronicle which is lost, and which made no traceable impact on Burgundian political or historical culture under the third duke. To date, these are the only traces that have been found of Philip the Good's personal 'obsession' – an ascription of sentiment which seems, on balance, to overstate the Valois prince's motivations.

## The Burgundy of Charles the Bold

During the reign of Charles the Bold, however, the evidence is thicker on the ground. This is the second stage of the story, and it was during Charles's reign that our little abridgement of Burgundian history was put together. The oldest manuscript refers quite explicitly to Charles '*at present* duke and count of Burgundy', and expresses the wish that he will prevail over his enemies.[58]

Although no surviving contemporary source indicates who might have written the abridgement, two manuscripts have later attributions to the same named individual.[59] According to a modern note on the oldest surviving manuscript, 'Philippe Martin, describing himself as chamberlain of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy and his *gruier* in Franche-Comté, is the author of this small treatise, which he says he drew up from the muniments kept in the castle of Grimont'.[60] A later copy of the work contains a note by the great sixteenth-century historian of Burgundy, Jean-Jacques Chifflet: 'Ex-tract from memoirs written in the hand of the late nobleman Philippe

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[57] J. Bartier, 'Bourguignons en Flandre et flamands en Bourgogne au temps des ducs Valois', in: *PCEEBM* 2 (1960), pp. 68-75.

[58] BM Besançon Collection Baverel 24, the oldest manuscript of the work con-sisting of two loose leaf folios and entitled 'Of Burgundian kings' ('Des roys de Bourg[og]ne'). The entry referred to here is on fol. 2v.

[59] Jean Lemaire de Belges writing early in the sixteenth century did not know who the author of the work was – see below. Nor did his pupil, Pierre de Saint-Julien-de-Baleure, who mentioned it in his *De l'origine des Bourguignons, et antiquité des états de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1581), pp. 436, 675.

[60] BM Besançon Collection Baverel 24. The note is in a modern hand written on the verso of the second unbound folio.

Martin, grand chamberlain and *gruier* of my lord Duke Philip [the Good]'.[61]
The testimony of the two Besançon manuscripts, although precise and from
well-informed sources, is inaccurate in important respects. Although Martin
held high office under Philip the Good as we shall see, we have found no
document describing him as grand chamberlain or *gruier* in Burgundy.[62] It
is also curious that a manuscript linked to someone who was relatively close
to the duke should be unable to provide the day or month of Philip the
Good's death.[63] Despite these weaknesses, however, the Besançon evidence
cannot be neglected. Philippe Martin was the brother and principal heir of
Jean II, whose protection of Hugues de Tolins is attested beyond doubt.[64] If
Philippe Martin did indeed refer to himself as a servant of Philip the Good
on a copy of the work seen by Chifflet, it would follow that he was working
on the text at a time when Hugues de Tolins was receiving a pension for his
own research. Indeed, given the fact that Jean Martin was linked to both
men, it is possible that Hugues de Tolins and Philippe Martin collaborated,
directly or indirectly – although clearly this can only be conjecture.

Philippe Martin's position at the Burgundian court was established by
1462, when we find him in the post of *valet de chambre*[65] of Philip the

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[61] BM Besançon Collection Chifflet 52, fol. 23. A third manuscript attributes the
work simply to 'Martin', the seventeenth-century BM Besançon Collection Chifflet
15, fol. 2: 'Chronicle of the kings, dukes and counts of Burgundy, which is only a
draft ['qui n'est que commencée'], and is taken from that of Martin, which is
fantastical'. The attribution of the our text to Philippe Martin was first published by
Paul Meyer, information which had been supplied to him by Bernard Prost, archivist
of the Département of the Jura: P. Meyer, *Girart de Roussillon: chanson de geste*
(Paris, 1884), p. cxix. The attribution was repeated twenty-five years later by
Georges Doutrepont, but unfortunately what appears to be a typographical error
caused the author's name to be recorded as Bartin.

[62] I am grateful to Prof. Pierre Gresser for informing me Martin did not hold the
post of *gruier* in the county. Martin is described as a chamberlain – but not as first
or grand chamberlain – in at least one document: see A. Le Glay *et al.*, *Inventaire
sommaire des archives départementales du Nord*, 10 vols. (Lille, 1863-1906), vol. 3,
p. 16.

[63] BM Besançon, Collection Baverel 24, fol. 2v: *treschrestien et bon prince mon-
seigneur le duc philippe cui dieu ait qui trespassa a bruxelles le [  ] jour du mois [
] mil iiijc lxvij.*

[64] H. Beaune and J. d'Arbaumont, *La noblesse aux états de Bourgogne de 1350 à
1789* (Dijon, 1864), p. 235; Caron, *La noblesse* (see n. 42), p. 396. Philip's status as
heir is demonstrated in ACO B456, fols. 1-11v, which examines Jean II Martin's
bequests in great detail. Jean and his wife Marguerite Frappier gave the splendid
diptych of the Annunciation (c. 1470-1475) attributed to the Flemish school to an
unknown church (although possibly Saint-John-the-Baptist at Dijon) which is now
kept in the Musée des Beaux-Arts at Dijon (inventory number CA113).

[65] ACO B 1751, fol. 74. This post should not be confused with the higher office of
*chambellan*.

Good. In a passage of his official chronicle for 1464, George Chastelain describes how the *valet*, alone late one night with the prince while exercising his duties, received special instructions from the old duke on a sensitive political matter.[66] For the municipality of Dijon, Philippe Martin inevitably became a valuable contact at the centre. In the spring of 1471 he and other Dijonais present with Charles the Bold received letters from the mayor of the city requesting news of the duke's well-being and his progress in his French campaigns.[67] Philip's ascent continued under the fourth duke, leading to his appointment as an *épicier* (in keeping with his family's history of provisioning the court) and as a *sommelier de corps*.[68] Philip went on to succeed his brother Jean II as castellan of Rouvres in 1474. His career extended long into the post-Valois period, with interesting ramifications as we shall see. For the moment, however, it is clear that Philippe Martin came to enjoy a measure of influence and intimacy with the last two dukes of Burgundy which bears comparison with the position his older brother had attained.

A second circumstantial connection between the abridged *Chronique des royz* and the work of Hugues de Tolins is provided by the finest manuscript of the text, British Library, Yates Thompson 32. An early catalogue description records how, when the volume was sold to the collector Ambroise Firmin Didot in 1865, the unnamed Dijonais vendor 'said that it had been found walled up in a cupboard in a house in that city and that the miniatures were by Hugues de Tollens'.[69] It is possible that the tale of the manuscript's immurement in Dijon was intended to heighten its

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[66] Chastellain, *Œuvres* (see n. 43), vol. 5, pp. 102-103. Although Chastelain and the Martin brothers clearly moved in very similar circles, the ancient history of Burgundy made no impact on the surviving portions of Chastelain's official chronicle.

[67] And it will be remembered that the oldest text of the *Chronique des royz* wished the duke victory in his campaigns against his enemies. For Dijon's request, see J. Garnier, ed., *Correspondance de la mairie de Dijon*, 3 vols. (Dijon, 1868-1870), vol. 1, pp. 120-121. Later that year Martin was one of five locals at court to receive a further circular from the mayor requesting news of the duke, and of the possibility that he might be planning a visit to the duchy: *ibidem*, pp. 129-130. Jean Martin had also served Dijon's interests at the court: Bartier, *Légistes* (see n. 46), p. 133 n. 2.

[68] For this sentence and the next, see ACO B 11832, Bundle 36, no. 116.

[69] Thompson, *Illustrations from one hundred manuscripts* (see n. 33), p. 23. The information was secondhand at least. Thompson bought the manuscript from the sale of Firmin Didot's collection in 1878. At that sale Thomson was informed by Firmin Didot's representative, Pawlowski, of the story Firmin Didot had been told. The purchase and price of the volume in 1865 from the Dijonais vendor is recorded in P. Paris, *Catalogue illustré des livres précieux manuscrits et imprimés faisant partie de la bibliothèque de M. Ambroise Firmin Didot de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (Paris, 1878), p. 51, but without mention of 'Hugues de Tollens'.

cachet and thereby increase its commercial value. A prestigious attribution could have the same effect as an intriguing provenance. But it is difficult on this score to see what advantage a vendor in 1865 could gain from inventing an association with Hugues de Tolins. Information on the chronicler was even more scant then than it is today.[70] None of it suggests he was a miniaturist, let alone a miniaturist of note. It is therefore plausible that the association of the finest manuscript of the *Chronique des royz* with Hugues de Tolins contained a degree of truth.

But setting aside such circumstantial connections, it would be perverse to avoid the conclusion that the chronicler's research conducted in the early 1460s was a major source of the abridgement which we may be sure was written before 1477, and which is attributed to Philippe Martin. Comparison of Tolins's remit with the contents of the abridged chronicle provides ample evidence to support this view. Tolins, a priest with access to ecclesiastical establishments, was instructed to note the details of the endowment of churches and royal foundations, to identify kings and to record this informa-tion in a chronicle – precisely what our text does in miniature. Clear indications of such research having been done emerge on three occasions in the text: the *Chronique des royz* cites documents available in the mon-asteries of Saint-Oyend (later Saint-Claude) in the Jura and Saint-Maurice in the Swiss Valais, and notes physical details of the letter of foundation of the church of Saint-Jean of Lyon.[71] Second, reliance upon saints' lives is a central feature of the *Chronique des royz*. It will be remembered that Hugues de Tolins was working on a martyrology when he was appointed to write the chronicle of Burgundy. It is striking to note, therefore, that the *Chronique des royz* draws in particular upon a series of saints' lives closely associated with the archbishopric of Besançon.[72] The *Chronique des royz*

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[70] The first attempt to bring together the information on Tolins's life was published by Alexandre Pinchart in the 1884 volume of the *Messager des sciences historiques* (see n. 39), pp. 169-170. Earlier published references simply recorded Tolins's remit to write a chronicle in 1460-1461, although of course it is possible that knowledge of the remit was enough to suggest a connection with the work contained in the manuscript: Peignot, *Catalogue* (see n. 30), p. 37; Laborde, *Les ducs de Bourgogne* (see n. 30), vol. 1, p. 473.

[71] Fourth entry in the work, *et est la fin de la lettre datum gebronis in regno bourgondie anno etc*; tenth entry, *comme il est escript a sainct moris en chamblay'; seventeenth entry, 'et est la lectre de ladicte fondacion scellee d'or*.

[72] BM Besançon 815 is a fifteenth-century *Legendae sanctorum ad usum ecclesiae Bisuntinae accommodatae* which includes all the Besançon saints mentioned in the *Chronique des royz*. These saints appear frequently in earlier graduals and missals, breviaries and hours. On the famous eleventh-century school of Besançon hagio-graphers which produced much of this work under Hugues de Salins, see M. Chaume, *Les origines du duché de Bourgogne. I: histoire politique* (Dijon, 1925), p. 263 *et seq.*

even signaled the long gap in the occupation of the see between SS Antide
and Nicet, during which time the diocese was abandoned – precisely the in-
formation conveyed in the eleventh-century life of Saint Nicet associated
with the Besançon school of hagiographers.[73] The work also supplies in-
formation from the *vita* of St Germain d'Auxerre.[74] Third, we may assume
that Tolins was given access to official records, just as other historians of
the duke were.[75] When we turn to the *Chronique des royz* we find it con-
tains exactly such material. A curious passage in the text relates in great
detail the terms of a 1237 agreement between Jean de Chalon and Hugh IV
duke of Burgundy, whereby Jean gained the lordship of Salins with its
lucrative salt industry in return for ceding to Hugh IV the county of Chalon.
The exchange was 'a decisive act' which established Jean de Chalon's
dynasty as the most powerful family in the county of Burgundy, and con-
tributed to his own rise as the effective governor during the reign of his
daughter-in-law, Alix, between 1248 and 1267.[76] The precise information
supplied in the *Chronique des royz*, including the sixty barrels of wine Jean
de Chalon was to receive annually from Hugh IV, plus the sum of 2,000
silver marks paid to effect the territorial exchange between the two princes,
is recorded in the charters of the counts of Burgundy which were kept 'in
the treasury of my lord the duke of Burgundy in his castle at Poligny'.[77] Of
course, it is conceivable that before the end of Charles the Bold's reign,
someone else entirely had carried out the instructions which Philip the Good
issued to Tolins in 1460, and that in the process of carrying out the work
that unnamed writer gained access to martyrologies, visited local churches
and consulted official records kept in ducal archives. But this hardly seems

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[73] *Ibidem*, p. 172.

[74] Sixteenth entry, 'comme ilz appert par sa legende'.

[75] Small, *George Chastelain* (see n. 33), pp. 137-143.

[76] L. Febvre, *Histoire de Franche-Comté* (Paris, 1922; repr. Marseille, 1976), pp.
83-89.

[77] The charter is copied in ADD, B8, fol. 8v. The keeper of the ducal archive at
Poligny in 1461 when Tolins was at work was Master Guy de Martigny (see, for
instance, instructions he received in that capacity in ACO B1747, fols. 112v-113).
There is some evidence that the treasury at Poligny was not an easy archive to use:
in 1462 a ducal servant was obliged to make two trips from Dijon to Poligny to
gather documents for a case *pour la briefte du temps comme pour la multitude des
lettres et titres y estans* (ACO B1751, fol. 148v). The comital archive was ex-
haustively overhauled by Étienne Vincent, Martigny's successor, following his ap-
pointment in 1464: G. Guhem, 'Le trésor des chartes et les archives du comté de
Bourgogne', in: *Académie des sciences, belles-lettres et arts de Besançon* (1936),
pp. 145-166; J. Richard, 'Les archives et les archivistes des ducs de Bourgogne dans
le ressort de la Chambre des comptes de Dijon', in: *BEC* 105 (1944), pp. 122-169.
ADD B8 was Vincent's inventory of the charters he had found at Grimont, com-
pleted in 1467.

likely. Whatever the eventual involvement of the Martin brothers in the pro-
duction of the text, the work entrusted to Hugues de Tolins lies at the core
of the *Chronique des royz*. Perhaps his were the *anciens registres et aultres
enseignemens d'anciens roix, princes et pluisieurs saintes personnes issus
de la tres noble et anchienne maison de Bourgongne* which were found *en
la tresorie de Poligny*, and from which extracts were made in the form of
the *Chronique des royz*? After all, there was no better place to keep an
official chronicle, even one that was incomplete, than in the prince's
archives.[78]

Did a fuller text ever exist? In truth it is very hard to tell how far Hugues
de Tolins took his work. A pair of late manuscripts contains variants which
effectively constitute a more detailed narrative, including references to
particular sources on the history of Burgundy. The sources in question are
described as 'a chronicle found in the monastery of Saint-Claude, in a very
old book named the Martyrology, at the end of which there is a treatise on
the arrival of Saints Oyend and Lupicin'; and a passage, 'taken from the
chronicle of Eusebius', recounting how 'Saint Clothilda daughter of the
king of Burgundy had Clovis, first Christian king of France, baptised'.[79] It
is possible that the passages in question existed in a fuller version of the
*Chronique des royz* and had been excised in other manuscripts. However, it
is equally possible that the unique material present in the manuscripts was
interpolated by a learned scribe, reader or owner.[80] Precisely that process

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[78] Large sections of Emond van Dynter's *Chronica* of the dukes of Brabant survives
in the so-called 'Black Registers' of the ducal administration to which he was
secretary: R. Stein, *Politiek en historiografie. Het onstaansmilieu van Brabantse
kronieken in de eerste helft van de vijftiende eeuw* (Leuven, 1994), pp. 67-68. In
Savoy, the chronicles written by Thomassin were kept in the ducal *chambre des
comptes*: see BnF ms fr. 4627 and K. Daly, 'Some seigneurial archives and
chronicles in the fifteenth century', in: *Peritia* 2 (1983), pp. 59-73. For two further
examples of official chronicles being gathered up and preserved by the power that
commissioned them, see Small, *George Chastelain* (see n. 33), p. 161 n. 165. Quite
why the material on the ancient kings should have ended up at Poligny is not known.
A surprisingly large number of men from that town held high office at the court of
Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, so much so that one art historian has spoken
of them as a pressure group: A. Châtelet, 'Roger van der Weyden et le lobby poli-
nois', in: *Revue de l'art* (1988), pp. 9-21. Fuller details of individual careers may be
found in Chevalier, *Mémoires historiques* (see n. 11), *passim*. I have only found one
connection of the *Chronique des royz* to men of this group, however – see below.

[79] BM Besançon 1018, fols. 299-315. The manuscript is dated 1584. It is related to
BnF ms fr 10.649, a late sixteenth-century volume which mostly consists of papers
concerning Besançon.

[80] There is no doubt the text preserved in this manuscript received interpolations.
One final variant gives a fuller account of the murder of John the Fearless at Mon-
tereau. The material is lifted from a separate document on the duke's death in the
same volume (fol. 188v: 'The false treason and cursed murder of duke John').

can be seen in individual manuscripts,[81] or indeed in groups of late manu-
scripts, such as those centred around Lille (BM Lille 727 [formerly 552],
626 [formerly 622] and BM Roubaix ms 29) or Besançon (BM Besançon
1013, 1021, 1025, 1027, 1029, 1611).[82] The annalistic form of the *Chroni-
que des royz* lent itself readily to later additions, and evidence of readers en-
gaging with the text in this manner appears from an early stage in the
history of the work.[83] To date, the only other indication of a fuller text
which Hugues de Tolins might have left is equally inconclusive. A supple-
mentary catalogue of the manuscripts of BM Arras mentions a late manu-
script containing, first, a sixteen folio text which looks to be our abridge-
ment ('Here follows the descent of the dukes of Burgundy as found in the
treasury of Poligny'); and second, a much fuller text, 68 folios long, con-
taining the 'History of the kings, dukes and counts of Burgundy, extracted
from various charters found in the treasury of Dijon'.[84] Unfortunately it is
impossible to verify whether the latter was a fuller copy of the work of
Hugues de Tolins, for the manuscript was destroyed in the First World
War.[85] The dossier on the *Chronique des royz* clearly cannot be closed yet.
What we can do for the moment is ask why this abridgement should have
appeared in Charles the Bold's reign; and, more particularly, how its
appearance related to the other evidence of a Burgundian consciousness in
that period.

The middle years of Charles the Bold's reign constitute an important
watershed.[86] Although the duke had already secured exemption of appeals

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[81] BM Besançon 1579, for instance, where one addition reads: 'Note that Saint
Claude was born in the castle of Bracon in a gold and azure room which can still be
seen today in 1597' (fol. 72).

[82] Both sets are late, and both contain distinct long digressions taking the descent of
the dukes of Burgundy from the middle of the thirteenth century down to the
Charles V in the sixteenth century.

[83] BM St Omer ms 749, completed before the death of Philip the Fair in 1506, in-
cludes a later observation to the effect that eight counts of Burgundy were buried in
the church of St Étienne at Besançon, and even includes a transcription of verse
written beside their tombs. This copy also contains an alternative genealogy in the
closing stages which concentrates on the Artois connections of the dynasty, pre-
sumably reflecting the interests of the late fifteenth-century copyist or owner.

[84] *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Tome
XL. Supplément, Tome I. Abbeville-Brest* (Paris, 1902), p. 160 (BM Arras 1145).

[85] Information received in a letter from Monique Canesson on behalf of the head
librarian. One other manuscript of the work was certainly lost, an early sixteenth-
century copy which was in the municipal library of Tournai when it was destroyed
as a result of German bombing in 1940.

[86] What follows, unless otherwise indicated, comes from R. Vaughan, *Charles the
Bold. The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (London, 1973; repr. with updated biblio-
graphical essay by W. Paravicini, Woodbridge, 2002); J.-M. Cauchies, *Louis XI et
Charles le Hardi: de Péronne à Nancy (1468-1477): le conflit* (Brussels, 1996).

from his dominions to the royal *Parlement* of Paris, he continued to intervene in the political life of France until 1471-1472. After setbacks in that period his interest in playing a dominant role in the French-speaking lands to the West or South was essentially restricted to Provence and Savoy: imperial, not royal, territories. In the case of Savoy, a series of ducal initiatives from 1472-1475 sought to place the duchy under Burgundian protection, including the request made to Frederick III at Trier in November 1473 by chancellor Hugonet to establish Charles the Bold as the guardian of the young duke of Savoy. In July 1474 Louis XI persuaded René II of Lorraine that his grandfather, Duke René of Anjou, had been in negotiations with Charles the Bold with the intention of bequeathing the county of Provence to the duke of Burgundy.[87] Meanwhile, the severance of the umbilical cord to France was demonstrated by the tenor of the Treaty of London, signed with Charles's brother-in-law, Edward IV, also in July 1474. The duke abandoned the kingdom to Edward should he conquer it, so long as Charles could hold his existing lands in France (plus some others) in full sovereignty. Ducal political action was now clearly geared towards the creation of a Burgundian state that looked, if anywhere, to the Empire. The second half of 1473 and the first of 1474 were crucial in this regard: partly because of well-known radical reforms in the ducal household, army, administration and judiciary, but also because of the tenor of Charles the Bold's negotiations with Emperor Frederick III at Trier. The conference at Trier between late September and late November 1473 is vital to our story. It was here that the revival of a kingdom of Burgundy based on Charles's imperial dominions made a sudden appearance in the duke's reign – and for a time it seemed to be a very real possibility.

Charles's over-riding ambition at Trier is said to have been to secure from Frederick III his coronation as king of the Romans, with an eye, in the long run, to obtaining succession to the imperial throne. By mid-October 1473 it was clear to observers that Frederick would concede no more than an imperial vicariate and a territorial kingdom held from the Empire. A verbal agreement had been reached by 4 November.[88] The ancient kingdom of Burgundy would be resurrected for Charles and his heirs, incorporating all the lands the duke held in the Empire and any others to which he could lay claim. Savoy was specifically mentioned in this last category, but in view of the rumours over René of Anjou's succession, Provence (also part of the ancient kingdom) may have been on the minds of the Burgundian negotiators too. It is worth noting that any justification of such a settlement would have had to address at least four issues:

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[87]  A. Lecoy de La Marche, *Le roi René*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1875), vol. 1, p. 391.
[88]  H. Stein, 'Un diplomate bourguignon du XVe siècle, Antoine Haneron', in: *BEC* 98 (1937), pp. 283-348, at pp. 339-341.

1. To promote the credibility of the unfamiliar political entity that might now emerge, it would be necessary to show an ancient Burgundian kingdom had not only existed, but that it had a prestigious past with all the trappings (saintly kings, divinely-inspired military victories) contemporaries had come to expect in a monarchy;

2. To guarantee that continuity existed between the ancient kingdom and the one that was now proposed, it would be sensible to demonstrate some form of dynastic link between them across four and a half centuries. The neatest solution here would be to use the comital line of Burgundy – the last vestige of the kingdom after its absorption into the Empire;

3. Since the duke was permitted to incorporate not only his present imperial holdings in this kingdom, but also any others to which he might have a claim, it would be wise to present historical arguments that defined the ancient kingdom of Burgundy in the widest possible terms – and at the very least, in the context of 1473-1474, to include in those terms Savoy and Provence; and finally,

4. To be able in the long run to incorporate Charles the Bold's non-imperial lands under this unitary crown, particularly the all-important duchy of Burgundy, it would be necessary to demonstrate that French royal rule there was historically unjustified, and in fact a usurpation (a view Charles subscribed to, judging by the terms of the Treaty of London a few months later). Of course, any related argument that abased the French monarchy would contribute towards achieving that goal.

Needless to say, the *Chronique des royz* does all four of these things: in fact, it does little else.

Charles appears to have taken the imperial proposals very seriously indeed. A date was fixed for the coronation. The cathedral of Trier was made ready. The bishop of Metz practiced the coronation office. The new king's regalia, which we must assume the emperor had brought with him, were even put on display.[89] But the coronation never took place. Perhaps unable to stomach the thought of Charles as king, although no doubt for many other reasons too, Frederick III rose at the crack of dawn on 24 November and headed off, hotly pursued by the Burgundian courtier Peter of Hagenbach. The emperor is said to have complained of Charles that he was (according to a Milanese ambassador's report) 'always coming with some new proposal: what he promised one day was nothing the next'.[90] But there is further evidence that Charles had taken the revival of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy to heart – at least for a while. Of all the times he

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[89] The regalia of the Rudolphian period were apparently still used in imperial coronations in the fifteenth century: M. Hardy, *Olivier de La Marche and Chivalry and Monarchy in the Fifteenth Century* (University of London, unpublished M. Phil. thesis, 1970), p. 109.

[90] Richard Vaughan's translation: *Charles the Bold* (see n. 86), p. 153.

could have chosen, he fixed a date in the following month, December 1473, for exhuming the remains of his mother and father (died December 1471 and June 1467 respectively) to transport them to the family mausoleum near Dijon.[91] This was only his second visit to the Duchy since his birth there in 1433. The burghers of Dijon had clearly been told to prepare for an important entry. The duke was welcomed by *tableaux vivants* which presented biblical kings. For the one and only time in Valois Burgundian history a ducal entry witnessed the bearing of a canopy over the prince (a royal prerogative, of course).[92] Later, while resident in the town, Charles appeared 'en habit royal' and had his plate displayed on a seven-tier dresser.[93] Before the funerary cortege set out to lay his parents to rest, Charles delivered a famous speech to an assembly of the Burgundian estates in which he claimed that the former kingdom of Burgundy had been usurped by the French and made into a duchy – a source of sorrow, he thought, for his subjects. Then he announced in a Delphic way, although no doubt alluding to recent events at Trier, that 'he had plans, known only to himself, which the future would reveal'.[94] At least one historian has wondered where Charles the Bold had dug up the striking idea that the French had usurped the duchy of Burgundy.[95] Perhaps in the work of the Burgundian memoirist Olivier de La Marche?[96] But we now know La Marche's *Mémoires* were

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[91] On the ceremony for the transfer of the bodies, see M. Courtépée, *Description générale et particulière du duché de Bourgogne*, 4 vols. (Dijon, 1847-1848), vol. 1, pp. 195-196.

[92] J. Hurlbut, *Ceremonial Entries in Burgundy: Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, 1419-1477* (Indiana University doctoral thesis, 1990), p. 38.

[93] Chabeuf, 'Charles le Téméraire à Dijon' (see n. 46), pp. 289-291, for clothing and dresser, Courtépée, *Description* (see n. 91), vol. 1, pp. 204-205.

[94] Archives communales de la ville de Dijon, L 413, fols. 195-202 (a record of the speech by an *échevin* in the registers of municipal deliberations). The text is published in Chabeuf, 'Charles le Téméraire à Dijon' (see n. 46), at pp. 291-292.

[95] A. Leguai, 'Charles le Téméraire et l'histoire', in: *PCEEBM* 21 (1981), pp. 47-52, at p. 49.

[96] Guillaume Fillastre, Charles the Bold's chancellor, was aware of the past existence of a kingdom of Burgundy, but noted its absorption into the Empire rather than its usurpation by the French. The relevant passages, kindly forwarded to me by Malte Prietzel, are in BR, ms. 9027, fol. 137 (How Clotaire *entreprint par la magnanimité de son hault couraige conquerir le royaume de Bourgongne comme son heritaige*); and fol. 160v, where Fillastre mentions Emperor Conrad II and the acquisition of the kingdom of Burgundy (*En ce meismes temps, les Bourguignons, qui tousjours avoient esté loyaulx, se rebellerent contre Raoul leur roy. Et combien que par avant le nom de roy y fust estaint, toutesfois les predecesseurs et ceulx qui estoient du lignaige dudit Raoul roy des Bourguignons l'avoient relevé et maintenu environ cent et xxx ans. Lequel Raoul voyant la rebellion de son peuple et de ses subjectz rendy a l'empereur Conrard le royaume de Bourgongne. Et de la en avant fut reduit*

written later. The only sustained contemporary articulation of this view is to be found in the *Chronique des royz*, the work attributed to Charles's *sommelier de corps* and *épicier*, Philippe Martin.[97] En route to bury his parents at Dijon the duke had spent the nights of Wednesday 19 and Thursday 20 January at the castle of Rouvres, birthplace of his father and grandfather, and where Martin was his castellan.[98]

It is possible, therefore, to assemble the evidence in a suggestive proximity around a likely date and function for our abridged chronicle. The earliest manuscript dates to Charles's reign, and we know that the evidence for the duke's interest in the ancient kingdom of Burgundy coalesces around the period between the secret Trier agreement of 4 November 1473 and the Dijon speech of 25 January 1474. It was common practice to bolster diplomatic proposals and claims with historical arguments, and we have seen that the central themes of the *Chronique des royz*, condensed in a handy-sized package, could support the Trier proposals in at least four crucial ways. Was the work destined for the diplomatic bag? Was it passed to the duke by an enthusiastic local – specifically, Philippe Martin – to stir, quicken or sustain his enthusiasms? Or was it intended for wider consumption within the ducal elite? Perhaps all three possibilities can be envisaged, although since only one of the manuscripts clearly dates to Charles's reign, it would appear the abridgement had a limited audience at that point.

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*ycellui royaume de Bourgongne en province comme les autres contrees, ne oncques depuis n'y eut roy en Bourgongne*).

[97] There is one other source from Charles's reign which discusses the ancient kingdom of Burgundy, and which claims part of it had been usurped by the French: the *Livre des trahisons de France*, written around 1470, where we are told that Philip the Bold and John the Fearless were more worthy of a crown than the kings of France, whose predecessors had destroyed the first kingdom of Burgundy (apparently a reference to the wars of Clovis's sons in the early sixth century); and that previous rulers of the kingdom of Burgundy – located between 'les mons de Mouson, Arle, Provin et Basle' – were their predecessors: J. C. Kervyn de Lettenhove, ed., *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de Belgique sous la domination des ducs de Bourgogne: textes français* (Brussels, 1873), pp. 1-258, at p. 145. These comments were written after Hugues de Tolins's work in Burgundy, but it is impossible to say whether Tolins's research had a direct bearing on the views expressed. The only link between the abridged *Chronique des royz* and the *Livre des trahisons* comes in a late fifteenth or early sixteenth manuscript, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, ms 128 E 17, in which both texts are copied. I am grateful to Bertrand Schnerb for drawing this manuscript to my attention.

[98] Chabeuf, 'Charles le Téméraire à Dijon' (see n. 46), p. 269; P. Quarré, 'La "Joyeuse entrée" de Charles le Téméraire à Dijon en 1474', in: *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique. Classe des belles-lettres* 51 (1969), pp. 326-340, at p. 331. Note however that Philippe Martin was not required to personally exercise the office of castellan: Bartier, *Légistes* (see n. 46), p. 90 n. 2.

The *Chronique des royz* and the terms of the Trier agreement confirm
that the restoration of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy was higher on
Charles the Bold's agenda than it had been on his father's. But we are also
reminded of the limitations of the idea. The kingdom of Burgundy was in
the gift of the emperor and would be held from him. Ironically, the *Chroni-
que des royz* demonstrated the historical logic of this catch. No account of
the history of the kingdom could simply ignore its absorption into the
Empire. No re-creation of it could be obtained without cost from the em-
peror. Charles would thus have fallen back on an arrangement which left
him in a subservient position – precisely the sort of thing he was seeking to
avoid in his relations with the French crown. At the start of his reign,
Charles the Bold had ceased funding his father's history of Burgundy. After
Trier, and *pace* the Dijon speech, the idea of uniting his many dominions
under a Burgundian crown had little to commend it. Perhaps that is why we
hear no more of the kings of Burgundy, ancient or contemporary, in the
remainder of the reign.

### The Habsburg Idea of Burgundy

And so, finally, to the third phase of the history of the *Chronique des royz*,
the period after 1477 when the Burgundian dominions were divided be-
tween the Valois in France and the Habsburgs in the Empire. According to
one historian the idea of the kingdom of Burgundy 'disappeared completely
from the juridical and rhetorical arsenal of diplomats and jurists' in these
years.[99] But the reception of our text, among other things, suggests this view
should be revised. The dismemberment of the Burgundian dominions in
1477 was an involved process in which many of the northern dominions,
save Artois, were retained by Mary of Burgundy and her Habsburg hus-
band, Maximilian I. Both the duchy and county of Burgundy passed into
French hands, however. The duchy was to remain under royal rule, while
the return of the county to the Habsburgs was eventually ratified by the
terms of the treaty of Senlis in May 1493. In the decades following Charles
the Bold's death there was a prolonged period of adjustment to royal
government in both regions which included revolt and open warfare in its
earliest stages.[100] The ancient idea of Burgundy was perhaps more con-

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[99] J. Schneider, 'Lotharingie, Bourgogne ou Provence? L'idée d'un royaume
d'entre-deux aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge', in: *Liège et Bourgogne: actes du
colloque tenu à Liège, les 28, 29 et 30 octobre 1968* (Liège, 1972), pp. 15-44, at p.
34. The disappearance of the idea is attributed to Louis XI's acquisition of Provence
in 1481.
[100] Louis XI's forces were expelled from the county after the intial occupation in
September-October 1477. Royal rule was firmly restored in 1479: G. Blondeau,
'Jean Jouard, seigneur d'Échevannes et de Gatay, président des parlements des

troversial than ever now: for the inhabitants of the duchy and county coming to terms with life under the crown; for Habsburg rulers and their servants contesting what they regarded as their inheritance; and for French monarchs contending with the reactions of these groups. Such competing interests explain why reflections upon the ancient kingdom of Burgundy reached a highpoint during this period.

The reception of the *Chronique des royz* illustrates the point clearly. We have seen that no copy of Hugues de Tolins's research survives, and that only one manuscript of the *Chronique des royz* dates to the reign of Charles the Bold. In the four or five decades after 1477, however, at least a dozen copies of the work were made, along with three printed editions. Among the owners were unknown members of the Croÿ and Lalaing families, two kin-groups whose lands lay entirely in the northern ducal dominions and whose members continued to serve the Habsburg rulers of the Low Countries for generations after.[101] The contents of the composite volumes in which these copies were inserted suggest that the owners saw the text within the wider context of Franco-Burgundian history and, in one case, more specifically as part of the struggles between Valois and Habsburg in the decades following Charles the Bold's death. Two of the other manuscripts of the *Chronique des royz* are linked to the duchy of Burgundy itself, despite the return of that region to royal control. The first was the striking British Library volume said to have been immured in Dijon, which is a fine parchment copy and the only surviving one with miniatures.[102] The volume was made before 1486 for an unknown high status owner. By contrast, the second duchy copy was tucked away at the back of a large composite volume containing an eclectic range of un-Burgundian works by Christine de Pisan, Jean Gerson and

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comté et duché de Bourgogne', in: *Mémoires de la Société d'émulation du Doubs* VIII (1908), pp. 249-358, at p. 326 *et seq.*; M. Piquard, 'Charles de Neufchâtel, archevêque de Besançon, et la conquête de la Franche-Comté par Louis XI', in: *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1715) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques (années 1932 et 1933)* (Paris, 1934), pp. 35-46.

[101] For Lalaing, see Paris, BnF, ms fr 17.293, fols. 329-334v. The rest of the volume contains 'traités entre les rois de France et les ducs de Bourgogne au XVe siècle', and a work we shall return to below by Jean d'Auffay. For Croÿ, see Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, hs 2579, fols. 60-65. In addition to the speeches of Jean Jouffroy mentioned above, the manuscript contains material relating to John the Fearless, Philip the Good, Louis XI and Louis XII of France, as well as work by Jean Lemaire de Belges.

[102] London, British Library, Yates Thompson 32. The other known copy with miniatures is discussed below. The next sentence is based on the fact that the manuscript mentions the death of Mary of Burgundy in 1482, and refers to Maximilian as duke of Austria, rather than king of the Romans, his principal title following his election in 1486. For a description, see Thompson, *Illustrations from One Hundred Manuscripts* (see n. 33).

Guillaume de Tignonville.[103] By 1504 this volume was in the hands of brothers named Jean and Jeanin Robert, merchants of Chalon-sur-Saône, but it had previously belonged to another bourgeois and merchant of that town, Philippe du Bois. To the northern nobles, an unknown potentate and the less exalted merchants who traded in the duchy, we may add a cleric and a courtier from the county of Burgundy to the ranks of early readers of the *Chronique des royz*. Philippe Courault, abbot of Saint-Peters in Ghent, was originally from Poligny, the nearest town to the castle of Grimont where the original materials on the kings of Burgundy were said to be kept. Perhaps this explains why Courault had a copy made of the work in one of his composite manuscripts.[104] The second county reader was another man who made his career in the north: Olivier de La Marche, the famous memoirist and court servant of Charles the Bold and Mary of Burgundy. There is no evidence La Marche owned a copy of the work, but he certainly used it to write his comments on the ancient history of Burgundy in the first volume of his *Memoirs*.[105] La Marche's background, like that of Courault, linked him to the original milieu of the *Chronique des royz*. Between 1473 and 1480 he married Isabeau Machefoing, cousin of Jean and Philippe Martin, protector and possible collaborator respectively of Hugues de Tolins.[106] As we have seen, Jean Martin was a major beneficiary of the confiscations of the property of Isabeau's first husband, Jean Coustain, in 1462.[107]

The reception of the *Chronique des royz* rippled outwards towards the Habsburg heirs of the Burgundian legacy, for whom the work offered additional insight into the history of an ancient kingdom which, after all, had formed part of the Empire for many centuries. La Marche was a possible conduit for the transmission of the text to Habsburg governors. He served as tutor to Philip the Fair, son of Maximilian I and Mary of Burgundy, and indeed he intended the first volume of his *Memoirs* as a genealogical lesson for his princely pupil. Philip had access to the *Chronique des royz* himself, however, for a fine copy entered the dynasty's library at some point after 1478, the year of his birth.[108] It is possible that

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[103] Paris, BnF, ms nouv. acq. fr 10.059, fols. 189-191v.

[104] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms 16530-40, fols. 102-109.

[105] Demonstrated in A. Millar, *Olivier de La Marche and the Court of Burgundy, c. 1425-1502* (University of Edinburgh, unpublished thesis, 1996), pp. 269-271.

[106] Caron, *La noblesse* (see n. 42), p. 159.

[107] BM Lille 541 [794] is a sixteenth-century manuscript containing La Marche's memoirs with a partial copy of the *Chronique des royz* at the close of the volume. I am grateful to Catherine Emerson for providing a photocopy of part of the manuscript to check details. Paris, BnF, ms fr. 4907 is a mid-sixteenth-century volume containing La Marche and the *Chronique des royz*, in addition to other items concerning the rivalry between François I king of France and Charles V.

[108] J. Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique, ou librairies des fils du roi Jehan, Charles V, Jean de Berri, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens* (Paris, 1830), p. 317,

the text developed in function from school book to guide book not long after. In 1501, several of Philip the Fair's companions profited from the young prince's first voyage to Spain to make an excursion into Provence.[109] The account of the journey was kept by Antoine de Lalaing, a member of whose family, as we have seen, owned a copy of the *Chronique des royz*. The travellers visited the Abbey of Saint-Victor, where they were able to behold the cross of Saint Andrew. There and at La Baume they saw objects and sites associated with Mary Magdalene. The party also visited Saint-Maximin where she died. The town and abbey were named after the saint to whom Mary had made her final confession, and who was responsible, according to the *Chronique des royz* at least, for baptising the first Christian king of Burgundy.

It is not clear whether the *Chronique des royz* itself inspired such peregrinations.[110] However, the site-seeing of the young Habsburg Burgundians was entirely in keeping with their milieu. Philip's father, Maximilian I, noted in his *Gedenkbuch* the following year that he should find out what the arms of Burgundy had been when it was a kingdom. Later he concluded that they had consisted of a single crown.[111] Maximilian set his genealogists to work finding connections between the Habsburgs and the ancient kings of Burgundy. One of them, Jakob Mennel, achieved a solution of sorts in 1507, albeit by imagining a character called Odopert, king of Provence, grandson of Clovis and supposed father of Odopert, count of Habsburg.[112] Despite being informed by another of his historians in 1503 that the Hapsburgs had never ruled the kingdom of Burgundy, Maximilian[113] re-

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no. 2241: 'Enseignemens [sic] des princes de Bourgogne'. It is worth noting that the manuscript was not in any of the contemporary inventories published by Barrois, but was one of several which, according to eighteenth-century scholars, had originally belonged to the ducal library. Henry Yates Thompson thought this was his own manuscript. They certainly both have eleven miniatures, contain only the text of the *Chronique des royz* and are written on vellum. However, the manuscript said to have been in the ducal collection ended in 1478, whereas ms Yates Thompson 32 ends with the death of Mary of Burgundy in 1482. Moreover, if the British Library manuscript had indeed formed part of the ducal collection, it would be extremely unusual for it to have wound up in Dijon in private hands whence it was sold in 1865. The two manuscripts may have been closely related, but they do not appear to be one and the same.

[109] *Voyage de Philippe le Beau en Espagne, en 1501*, in L. P. Gachard, ed., *Collection des voyages des souverains des Pays-Bas*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1876), pp. 271-274. See Millar, *Olivier de La Marche* (see n. 105), pp. 271-272.

[110] The travellers did not mention the ancient kingdom in their account.

[111] S. Laschitzer, 'Die Genealogie des Kaisers Maximilian I', in: *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 7 (1888), p. 7.

[112] Hardy, 'Olivier de La Marche' (see n. 89), pp. 126-128.

[113] Laschitzer, 'Die Genealogie des Kaisers Maximilian I' (see n. 111), p. 11.

mained hopeful. His son could make that claim through his mother's line.[114] The king of the Romans must have been delighted when his official chronicler, Jean Molinet, drew an explicit parallel between his name and that of St Maximin, as if the history of Burgundy had come full circle to the rightful descendants of the ancient kings.[115]

Habsburg uses of the Burgundian past, of which the Valois dukes were now themselves part, did not go unchallenged. Jean Lemaire de Belges began his *Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troyes* while in the service of Margaret of Austria, Philip the Fair's sister. He completed it under Anne of Brittany at the French royal court. At some stage in this journey Lemaire developed a robust view of the historical accuracy of the *Chronique des royz*. Although 'it is difficult to extirpate ingrained errors', he felt obliged to correct 'those who have based their opinion of the ancient kings of Burgundy upon I know not what vulgar abridgement which is entitled the Chronicles of the Kings, Dukes and Counts of Burgundy'. How could any king of Burgundy have been baptised by Mary Magdalene in 14 C.E. if the Burgundians did not leave Germany for Gaul until 376 C.E.? 'This cannot be true, nor is it even likely'.[116] The need to address misconceptions apparently made popular by our little text is revealing of the latter's impact. Habsburg-Valois polemic was further fuelled in the generation after 1477 by a veritable archive war which stoked interest in the *Chronique des royz*. The comital treasury at Poligny, where the work was said to have originated, was quickly put to work by Louis XI in favour of Valois claims. Master Étienne Vincent, the keeper of the treasury at Poligny who had completely reorganised the archive under Philip the Good, was instructed to produce the 1295 marriage contract of Jeanne, daughter of Otto IV, and the future Philip V of France, which brought the county under French influence.[117] The marriage was mentioned in the *Chronique des royz*. Vincent refused to give up the document without a receipt from the king's lieutenant. In 1478 Louis XI instructed a search of the archives at Dijon in local monasteries for any documents 'concerning the rights which I may have concerning the duchy and the county'.[118] The following year the treasury at Poligny was ransacked and documents were carried off to the *Chambre des comptes* in Dijon.[119] Habsburg supporters did their best to

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[114] *Ibidem*, p. 5.

[115] Jean Molinet, *Chroniques*, eds. G. Doutrepont and O. Jodogne, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1935-1937), vol. 2, p. 93.

[116] Lemaire, *Œuvres*, ed. Stécher (see n. 28), vol. 2, pp. 392-393.

[117] Richard, 'Archives et archivistes' (see n. 77), p. 159. For the date of the marriage contract, see Febvre, *Histoire de Franche-Comté* (see n. 76), pp. 99, 101.

[118] Richard, 'Archives et archivistes' (see n. 77), pp. 159-160.

[119] A. Rousset, *Dictionnaire géographique et statistique des communes de la Franche-Comté, V: Département du Jura* (Paris, 1969), p. 196.

counter such aggressive royal initiatives, albeit under difficult circum-
stances. In December 1484 a former chamberlain of Charles the Bold – Jean
de Jaucourt, lord of Villarnoul – led a conspiracy during which the son of
the porter of the *Chambre des comptes* at Dijon admitted plotters to the
archives to retrieve documents supporting Maximilian's claim to the
duchy.[120] The most sustained Habsburg response came in 1479, however.
That year Mary of Burgundy's *maître des requêtes* in the Great Council,
Jean d'Auffay, argued the case for the princess's rights to the duchy of
Burgundy and other lost territories.[121] In response a French royal *procureur*,
probably Michel de Pons, wrote a reply which argued that royal apanages
were inalienable.[122] The exchanges (or elements of them) survive in a large
number of manuscripts from the period. One late fifteenth-century manu-
script of d'Auffay's treatise was supported by a closing genealogy demon-
strating the line of the dukes of Brabant 'and how Duke Philip of Burgundy
came to the title'.[123] But the text most commonly chosen to accompany Jean
d'Auffay's arguments was the *Chronique des royz*, which survives as an
appendix to d'Auffay in a number of volumes.[124] Just as political events in
Charles the Bold's reign encouraged the abridgement of the work of Hugues

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[120] Garnier, *Correspondance* (see n. 67), vol. 1, cii-iv.

[121] Edited by Leibnitz in his *Codex juris gentium diplomaticus* (1693), but
apparently with errors: see F. Hennebert, 'Auffay (Jean d') ou Dauffay', in the
*Biographie nationale de Belgique*. On the content of the work and the French replies
see M.-T. Allemand, 'La réversion du duché de Bourgogne au Royaume de France,
vue à travers des mémoires contemporains', in: *Cinq-centième anniversaire de la
bataille de Nancy (1477). Actes du colloque organisé par l'Institut de recherche
régionale en sciences sociales, humaines et économiques de l'Université de Nancy
II (Nancy, 22-24 septembre 1977)* (Nancy, 1979), pp. 207-235. A fuller survey of
early manuscripts would include BM Arras 230, BM Aix-en-Provence 446, BM
Amiens 489, BM Lille 551; Brugge Stadsarchief ms 34; Brugge Stadsbibliotheek
399; Brussels Bibliothèque Royale 12581, 12269-72, 15854.

[122] For details and bibliography, see P. Saenger, 'Burgundy and the inalienability of
appanages in the reign of Louis XI', in: *French Historical Studies* 1 (1977), pp. 1-
27, especially p. 13 onwards. Kathy Daly is working on French attitudes to Bur-
gundy evinced in historical texts of the period.

[123] BM Dole 311, fols. 58-59v. The genealogy of the dukes of Brabant was the sub-
ject of several works in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which are discussed
most recently in Stein, *Politiek en historiografie* (see n. 78), *passim*.

[124] The oldest of them include BM St Omer 749, which contains three texts only – a
chronicle of the abbey of Saint Bertin to 1497, d'Auffay's treatise and, immediately
following, the *Chronique des royz*; Bibliothèque centrale de l'Université de Mons-
Hainaut, ms 323 (aka 214, copied between 1478 and 1506); BM Douai ms 1191
(early sixteenth century) which attributes the work to Jean d'Auffay, clearly in error
(see also BM Douai 904, a sixteenth-century manuscript which includes a partial
copy of the *Chronique des royz* and a copy of Jean d'Auffay). BM Besançon 867 is
a later sixteenth-century manuscript containing both d'Auffay and the abridgement.

de Tolins, so the difficult years after that duke's death prompted the wider dissemination of the abridgement itself. A response of sorts figures in some manuscripts of the royalist treatise, where we find a genealogy 'to demonstrate that the dukes of Burgundy are descended from the line of French kings'.[125]

We could go further and discuss the importance of the idea of Burgundy for Charles V, a world emperor, but also a prince brought up at the court of his aunt, Margaret of Austria in the Low Countries, who expressed the wish to be buried with the dukes at Champmol.[126] However, that is another story.[127] Taken together, this evidence reveals that the *Chronique des royz* made a substantial impact in the period from 1477 to *c.* 1520: far greater, indeed, than at any earlier time. There are at least two obvious reasons for the success of the work.

As Johan Huizinga showed long ago, the Valois Burgundian period appeared in retrospect as a Golden Age to the Habsburgs and their servants.[128] Philippe de Commynes's testimony is sometimes seen as suspect, but he was not the only one to consider Philip the Good's dominions as the Promised Land. Burgundy as a concept had made a dramatic reappearance on the political landscape in the reigns of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold – if not as a kingdom, then as the many domains of 'the Great Duke of the West'. The men who had helped make Valois Burgundy great under the last two dukes sired sons who later served the Habsburgs, and it was through these heirs, as I have argued elsewhere, that the historical and political cultures of an earlier era were channelled to posterity.[129] The *Chronique des roys* was a natural (if not ideal) place to look for some knowledge of the deeper Burgundian past. After all, in the absence of Hugues de Tolins's work it seems to have been the only place to read something on the subject.

Interest in things Burgundian under Habsburg rulers is also explained by the simple fact that the ancient kingdom was theirs to reinvent or resurrect. Maximilian's father, Frederick III, put it in a nutshell when he declared that there were four crowns in the Empire, one of them the kingdom of Bur-

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[125] E.g. BnF ms fr. 16816. Later copies of Michel de Pons's case also include the royalist genealogy of the dukes of Burgundy: see BM Dijon ms 991, fols. 137-146v, and BM Besançon Collection Chifflet 28, fol. 79.

[126] A. De Ridder, *Les droits de Charles-Quint au duché de Bourgogne. Un chapitre de l'histoire diplomatique du XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1890), p. 135.

[127] See, for instance, M. Rady, *The Emperor Charles V* (London, 1988).

[128] J. Huizinga, 'La physionomie morale de Philippe le Bon', in: *Annales de Bourgogne* 4 (1932), pp. 101-139, at p. 125; J. C. Smith, *The Artistic Patronage of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy: 1419-1467* (Columbia University, unpublished PhD dissertation, 1979), appendix iii ('The Golden Age of Burgundy: Burgundian mythology in the sixteenth century').

[129] Small, *George Chastelain* (see n. 33), pp. 197-227.

gundy/Arles, and the rightful place for all four was his own head.[130] In other words, Burgundy's crown was more obviously and more legitimately part of the ideological arsenal of the Habsburgs. In 1508 Maximilian I mentioned to the knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece that he was contemplating the creation of a kingdom of Austria and Burgundy, by which he is thought to have meant a unification of the Habsburg hereditary lands and the county of Burgundy.[131] Nothing else is known of the idea, and it seems to have disappeared when the county of Burgundy was ceded soon after to Margaret of Austria. But this was the sort of whim a Habsburg emperor could indulge; the sort of plan that a Burgundian duke could only dream about.

*Epilogue*

Dynastic interest in the ancient kingdom of Burgundy faltered with the disappearance of Hugues de Tolins. Local enthusiasm may not have dimmed, but it was not until quite late in Charles the Bold's reign that the kingdom resurfaced. With the death of the last Valois duke the idea of Burgundy was recruited to the Habsburg cause through which it gained wider recognition than ever before. But what of the inhabitants of the duchy, left to reflect on what might have been? It is possible, by way of an epilogue, to explore the question through the experience of someone closely connected to the *Chronique des royz*.

Philippe Martin realised the necessity of embracing royal rule. It could not have been easy for former servants of Charles the Bold – particularly men as close to the duke as he had been – to integrate within the new order. But integrate he did. Less than three years after his duke made a quasi-royal entry into Dijon, Philippe Martin was serving Louis XI as his *valet de chambre*.[132] The following spring he formed part of a Dijonais deputation which presented assurances of the city's loyalty to the monarch after the popular anti-royal revolt known as the *mutemacque* (June 1477).[133] Around the same time Philippe was one of several Burgundians who were questioned by a royal commission on a highly sensitive matter.[134] Louis XI

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[130] A. Bachmann, *Deutsche Reichsgeschichte im Zeitalter Friederich III und Maximilian I*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1884-1894), vol. 2, p. 494.

[131] M. A. Arnould, 'L'empereur Maximilien songea-t-il à ériger les Pays-Bas en royaume?', in: *Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles* 41 (1935-1936), pp. 263-285, especially pp. 266-270.

[132] ACO Recueil Peincedé XXII, p. 883: a service payment from 1479 referring back to the original appointment on 10 November 1477.

[133] A. Leguai, 'Dijon et Louis XI', in: *Annales de Bourgogne* 17 (1945), pp. 16-37, 103-115, 143-169, 239-265, at p. 242; Garnier, *Correspondance* (see n. 67), vol. 1, pp. 222-223.

[134] L.-P. Gachard, *La Bibliothèque nationale à Paris. Notices et extraits des manu-*

was gathering information to prepare a posthumous charge of *lèse-majesté* against the duke.[135] Philippe and others were asked to identify the duke's invitation to Louis to meet at Péronne in 1468, where Charles the Bold had confined the king and had forced him to make a string of concessions. In the eighteen months following the royal occupation of the duchy, few Dijonais were called upon to demonstrate their loyalty to the crown more publicly than Philippe Martin – a man to whom posterity has attributed the most intense expression of Burgundian patriotism in the late Middle Ages.

Thereafter Philippe held local office at a level which required the king's blessing. In 1484 he continued his family's role in tax-raising by sharing the office of royal *élu* for the *aides* in the duchy with Jehan Gros, a former ducal secretary, *audiencier* and *contrôleur des finances* who had also found a place for himself in the royal regime as *greffier en chef* of the *Parlement* of the county of Burgundy.[136] In the last years of his life, Philippe was elected *vicomte-mayeur* of Dijon, the highest municipal office in the duchy. He was buried at the town's expense when he died in office in 1489.[137]

The career of Philippe Martin demonstrates that a process of integration was underway. However, the 'foy de Bourgogne' was not quickly extinguished among the inhabitants of the duchy. In November 1480 the king demanded the expulsion of exiles who had infiltrated the city.[138] The *mairie* instructed a search of private houses 'to find out if there are any outsiders or others who are not true and loyal to the king and to his good town of Dijon'. Charges of treason were brought against a number of Dijonais in this period.[139] As we have seen, a pro-Habsburg plot was revealed in the town the year after Louis's death. In 1489, the mere rumour that the duchy would

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scrits qui concernent *l'histoire de Belgique*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1875-1877), vol. 1, p. 348.

[135] De Ridder, *Les droits de Charles-Quint* (see n. 126), pp. 72-74.

[136] ACO B 378 fols. 1-2v; Garnier, *Correspondance* (see n. 67), vol. 1 pp. 122-123 gives Gros's offices and notes his marriage to the niece of Chancellor Hugonet; see also Bartier, *Légistes* (see n. 46), p. 377.

[137] Garnier, *Correspondance* (see n. 67), vol. 1, p. 222 n. 1; Courtépée, *Description* (see n. 91), vol. 2, p. 30. On Philippe's descendants, see B. Prost, *Le trésor de l'abbaye de Sainte-Bénigne de Dijon* (Dijon, 1894), p. 108 n. 2.

[138] For this and what follows, see Leguai, 'Dijon et Louis XI' (see n. 133), pp. 258-259.

[139] Garnier, *Correspondance* (see n. 67), vol. 1, pp. 236-237. One of those accused was Jean de Brégilles. It is unlikely this was the eldest son of that name of Jacques de Brégilles, Jean Martin's colleague as ducal *garde-joyaux*, for that Jean de Brégilles made a career in the Low Countries under the Habsburgs: Paviot, 'Jacques de Brégilles' (see n. 43), pp. 318-319. However, the accused may well have been from the same family, for the sisters of Jean de Brégilles, Jacques's eldest son, remained in Burgundy after 1477 (*ibidem*, p. 319), illustrating once more the complex question of loyalties within regional governing classes.

be returned to Habsburg rule was enough to prompt three citizens of Dijon to travel to Brabant and solicit offices from those whom they believed – wrongly, as it turned out – to be their new masters.[140] In February that same year suspicion fell on Philippe Martin himself. Twelve years after Charles the Bold fell at Nancy, high office and a proven record of loyalty to the new regime were apparently no protection against malicious accusations in the jittery atmosphere of Dijonais politics. The mayor complained to the aldermen that two men had accused him of having given refuge in his own house to a herald of the Emperor Maximilian for eight or nine days.[141] The accusers were arrested and questioned under the instructions of the king's lieutenant in the duchy, but in the end nothing came of it. The incident is telling nonetheless. One could certainly not keep Habsburg heralds or exiles in a private dwelling house, so perhaps it would not be wise to keep similarly incriminating materials either. The story that BL Yates Thompson 32 was found walled up in a house in Dijon may be true after all. The 'foy de Bourgogne' did not wither on the vine – it was laid down for future generations to discover and savour.[142]

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[140] Garnier, *Correspondance* (see n. 67), vol. 1, cv.

[141] Archives municipales de Dijon, B166, fol. 82. I am grateful to Edgar De Blieck for bringing this reference to my attention, and for providing me with a digitised image of the document. I am grateful to Mme Lochot, conservator, for supplying me with copies from the same register, fols. 91v-92v, which record the death of Philippe Martin and the appointment of his successor in September that year.

[142] The large number of later manuscripts is evident in the appendix that follows.

APPENDIX: THE MANUSCRIPTS AND EARLY EDITIONS

*(a) Existing Manuscripts*

BESANÇON BM

MS  867 (16th century, second half), fols. 86-91: *Croniques de Bourgogne.*

MS  1013 (16th century, second half), fols. 645-663: *Cronicques et cathalogue de tous les roys, ducz et comtes de Bourgogne.*

MS  1018 (1584), fols. 299-315: *Recueil des croniques des sainctz, roys, ducs et comtes de Bourgoingne depuys l'an 14 apres la saincte resurrection de Nostre Seigneur jusques au duc Charles de Bourgoingne.*

MS  1020 (late 16th-early 17th century), loose leaf: *Des roys de Bourgogne.*

MS  1021 (late 16th-early 17th century), fols. 402-406: *Cronique de tous les roys, ducz et comtes de Bourgongne qui subsecutivement ont regne depuis Clovis premier roy de France chrestien.*

MS  1025 (17th century), fols. 302-312v: *Cronique des roys, ducz, comtes et comtesses de Bourgogne.*

MS  1027 (17th century), fols. 249-262: *Cronique de tous les roys, ducz, comtes et comtesses de Bourgogne commencant a Saincte Clotilde, femme de Clovis, premier roy de France chretien.*

MS  1028 (17th century), fols. 213-218: *Cronique de tous les rois, ducs et comtes de Bourgogne.*

MS  1029 (17th century), fols. 325-328v: *Cronique de tous les roys, ducs et comtes de Bourgogne qui subsécutivement ont regné depuis Clovis premier roy de France crestien.*

MS  1579 (1597), fols. 70-75v: *Croniques des roys et comtes de Bourgongne.*

MS  1611 (17th century), fols. 143-153v: No title.

MS  1617 (18th century), fols. 1-14v: *Annales de Besançon.*

MS  1679 (16th century, second half), fols. 1-10: *Extraicts d'aulcungs anc[...] aultres enseign[...] trouvez en la tresorerie [...] polligny et ailleurs touchant [...] roys princes et aultres sain[...] personnes issuz de la tresnoble [...] tres-ancienne maison de bourgoigne.*

Collection Baverel MS 24 (15th century), loose leaf (2 fols.): *Des royz de Bourgogne.*

Collection Chifflet MS 15 (17th century), fols. 222-223: *Chroniques de tous les roys et comtes et ducs de Bourgogne qui subsecutivement ont regne depuis Clovis premier roy de France crestien.*

Collection Chifflet MS 52 (17th century), fols. 23-28: *Extrait des memoires, escrits a la main, de feu noble Philippe Martin, grand chambellan et gruier de monseigneur le duc Philippe et caet.*

BRUSSELS Bibliothèque Royale

MS 7376-7 (Van den Gheyn 6181) (16th century), fols. 192-199v: *Extraits d'aucuns anchiens registres et autres enseignements trouves dans la tresorie de Poligni et autres touchant aucuns roix, princes et autres saintes personnes issus de la maison de Bourgogne.*

MS 8065 (Van den Gheyn 7060) (16th century, second half), 12 fols.

MS II, 2549 (17th century), fols. 59-72v: *Extraits d'aucuns anchiens registres et autres enseignements trouves en la tresorie de Poligni et ailleurs touchant aucuns roix, princes et autres saintes personnes issus de la tres noble et anchienne maison de Bourgogne dont Dieu soit garde.*

MS 16530-40 (16th century), fols. 102-108.

DOLE BM

MS 399 (mid-16th century), original foliation: fols. 115-121; modern pagination, pp. 227-239: *Croniques des roys et comtes de Bourgongne.*

DOUAI BM

MS 904 (early 16th century): No title

MS 1191 (early 16th century), fols. 5-8: *Cronicques de l'estocq et rachine dont procedent et viennent les duz de Bourgogne.*

THE HAGUE Koninklijke Bibliotheek

MS 128 E 17 (early 16th century, but after 1519), fols. 1v-4: *Ci parle d'aulcuns roys de Bourgongne et de leurs successeurs.*

LILLE BM

MS 432 (formerly 622) (16th century, after 1534), fols. 2-3: *Extrait d'aucuns anciens registres et autres enseignemens trouvez en la tresorerye de Poligny et autres touchant aucuns rois, princes et autres saintes personnes yssues de la tres noble et ancienne maison de Bourgogne, dont dieu soit garde.*

MS 622 (formerly 626) (17th century), fols. 1-15v: *Extrait d'aucuns anciens registres et autres enseignemens trouvez en la tresorerye de Poligny et autres touchant aucuns rois, princes et autres saintes personnes yssues de la tres noble et ancienne maison de Bourgogne, dont dieu soit garde.*

MS 727 (formerly 552) (18th century), fols. 194-198v: *Extrait d'aucuns anciens registres et autres enseignemens trouvez en la tresorerye de Poligny et autres touchant aucuns rois, princes et autres saintes personnes yssues de la tres noble et ancienne maison de Bourgogne, dont dieu soit garde.*

MS 794 (formerly 541) (16th century), fols. 502-503v: *Touchant le royaume de Bourgogne.*

LONDON, British Library

MS Yates Thompson 32 (15th century, before 1486), 15 fols.: *S'ensievent aulcunes croniques extraittes d'aulcuns anciens registres et aultres enseignemens d'anciens roix, princes et pluisieurs saintes personnes issus de la tres noble et anchienne maison de Bourgongne.*

METZ BM

MS 855 (early 16th century, but after 1506), fols. 2-4v: *S'ensuyvent aucunes croniques extraictes d'aucuns anciens registres et aultres enseignemens d'aucuns rois, princes et plusieurs sainctes issues de la tres noble maison de Bourgogne, jusqu'en l'an 1477.*

MONS Bibliothèque centrale de l'Université de Mons-Hainaut

MS 323 (15th century, after 1478), fols. 150v-156v: *Extrais d'aulcuns ancyens registres et aultres ensengnemens trouvez en la tresorie de Poligny et ailleurs touchant aulcuns rois, princes et autres saintes personnes yssus de la tres noble et ancyenne maison de Bourgogne.*

PARIS Bibliothèque nationale de France

MS fr. 2200 (16th century, after 1525), fols. 16-23: *S'ensuit la cronique des roys et ducz de Bourgoigne abbreviee, et commencant l'an quatorze apres la passion Nostre Saulveur et Redempteur.*

MS fr. 4907 (16th century, after 1536), fols. 109-111: No title.

MS fr. 11625 (16th-17th century), fols. 2-9: No title.

MS fr. 11626 (16th century), fols. 296-307: *Cronique des roys et comtes de Bourgogne.*

MS fr. 15464 (16th century, before 1530), fols. 201v-206v: *Cronicques et genealogie des roys de Bourgoine, depuis l'an quatorze apres la resurrection nostre seigneur en la maniere cy apres.*

MS fr. 17293 (15th century), fols. 329-334: *Extrait de anciens registres et aultres enseignemens trouve en la tresorie de Poligny et ailleurs touchant aulcuns rois, princes et aultres sainctes personnes yssus de la tresnoble et anchienne maison de Bourgogne.*

MS fr. 17909 (c. 1560), fols. 151-154v: *Extrait d'aulcuns registres anciens et aultre ensseignemens trouvés en la trésorerie de Poligni et ailleurs, touchant plusieurs rois, princes et aultres personnes saintes issus de la tresnoble et anchienne maison de Bourgogne.*

MS nouv. acq. fr 10059 (15th century), fols. 189v-191v: No title.

MS nouv. acq. fr 10649 (16th century), fols. 175-187: *Receuil des croniques des sainctz roys, ducs et comtes de Bourgogne, des l'an quatorze apres la saincte resurrection, jusques au duc Charles de Bourgoingne, regnant l'an 1576 [sic].*

MS nouv. acq. fr 23346 (16th century, after 1535): *Extrais hors d'aucuns vielz registres et autres enseignement trouvés en la trésorye de Polygny et ailleurs, touchant aulcuns roys, princes et aultres bonnes personnes yssus de la maison du duc de Bourgoigne.*

MS nouv. acq. lat. 198 (15th century, after 1493), fols. 199-203 : *Extrait d'aucuns anchiens registres et aultres enseignemens trouvés en la trésorerie de Polligni et ailleurs, touchant anchiens rois, princes et aultres saintes personnes yssus de la tres noble et tres anchienne maison de Bourgogne.*

ROUBAIX BM

MS 29 (18th century), fols. 19-22: *Genealogie historique d'aucuns roys, princes et aultres saintes personnes de la tres noble et ancienne maison de Bourgogne jusqu'à Charles Quint trouvee en la tresorerie de Poligny.*

SAINT-OMER BM
MS 749 (15th century-early 16th century, after 1497), fols. 115-119: *Extrait d'aucuns anchiens registres et aultres enseignemens trouvez en la tresorie de Pouligny et ailleurs, touchant anchiens rois, princes et aultres saintes personnes yssuz de la tres noble et tres anchienne maison de Bourgogne.*

SALINS BM[143]
MS 60 (17th century), fols. 218-224: *Chroniques des roys, ducs et comtes de Bourgogne.*

VIENNA, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
HS 2579 (early 16th century, after 1510), fols. 60-65: *Croniques des roys et ducz de Bourgoingne depuis l'an xiiij apres la resurrection et sont abregees.*

*(b) Lost or Destroyed Manuscripts*

ARRAS BM
MS 1145 (17th century), fols. 2-18: *S'ensuit la descente des ducqz de Bourgogne trouvez en la trésorerie de Poligny.*

TOURNAI, Bibliothèque de la ville
MS 137 (1562), fols. 28-34: *La genealogie des roys, ducs et comtes de Bourgoingne jusques a l'heure present.*[144]

UNKNOWN
Maximilian's copy (after 1478).[145]

*(c) Printed Editions*

(1) Guillaume Balsarin, Lyon, after 24 Feb. 1500: see M.-L. Polain, *Catalogue des livres imprimés au quinzième siècle des bibliothèques de Belgique*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1932), pp. 684-686, no. 1066.
(2) Martin Havart, Lyon *c.* 1510: see J. C. Brunet, *Manuel du libraire*, I (Paris, 1821), *c.* 1876; J. Baudrier, *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, 3e série, t. 3 (Lyon, 1897), pp. 99-110.

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[143] The manuscript collection was in long-term storage when I visited the library.

[144] See published entry in P. Faider and P. Van Sint Jan, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de Belgique, VI: Catalogue des manuscrits conservés à Tournai (Bibliothèque de la ville et du seminaire)* (Gembloux, 1950). Paul Faider had catalogued nearly half of the town's manuscripts before 90% were destroyed by fire resulting from German bombing in May 1940. Abbot Pierre Van Sint Jan published his work in 1950.

[145] J. Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique* (see n. 108), p. 317 no. 2241: 'Enseignemens [sic] des princes de Bourgogne'.

(3) Bernabé Chaussard and Pierre Mareschal, Lyon, *s.d.*: see M. Pellechet, *Catalogue général des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France*, t. 12 (Paris, 1905), p. 465, no. 3657.

(4) 'Poncet', Geneva 1535: see J. Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, 5 vols. (Paris 1768-1778), vol. 2, p. 674, no. 25.480.

(5) 'Gabriel Pomar, Hispaniol', Geneva 1535: J. Lelong, *Bibliothèque historique de la France*, 5 vols. (Paris 1768-1778), vol. 5, p. 442, no. 35.869.

(6) Antoine des Gois, Antwerp, 1543: given mistakenly as Antoine des Gors in J. Van den Gheyn, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, vol. 6 (Brussels, 1900), p. 98, n. 4 and P. Meyer, *Girart de Roussillon* (Paris, 1884), p. CXIX; for the printer Antoine des Gois, see G. Glorieux and B. Op De Beek, eds., *Belgica Typographica 1541-1600*, vol. 4 (Brussels, 1994), p. 344.

The catalogue entry for BM Besançon Collection Baverel 24 mentions that the chronicle has been printed several times 'notamment en 1555 (Genève, in 8o)'. I have not found a Geneva edition that year.

Plate 1. Frontispiece (with full title) of British Library MS Yates Thompson 32, fol. lv, 'Chroniques de Bourgogne', depicting the author (?) introducing his work. [With permission of the British Library.]
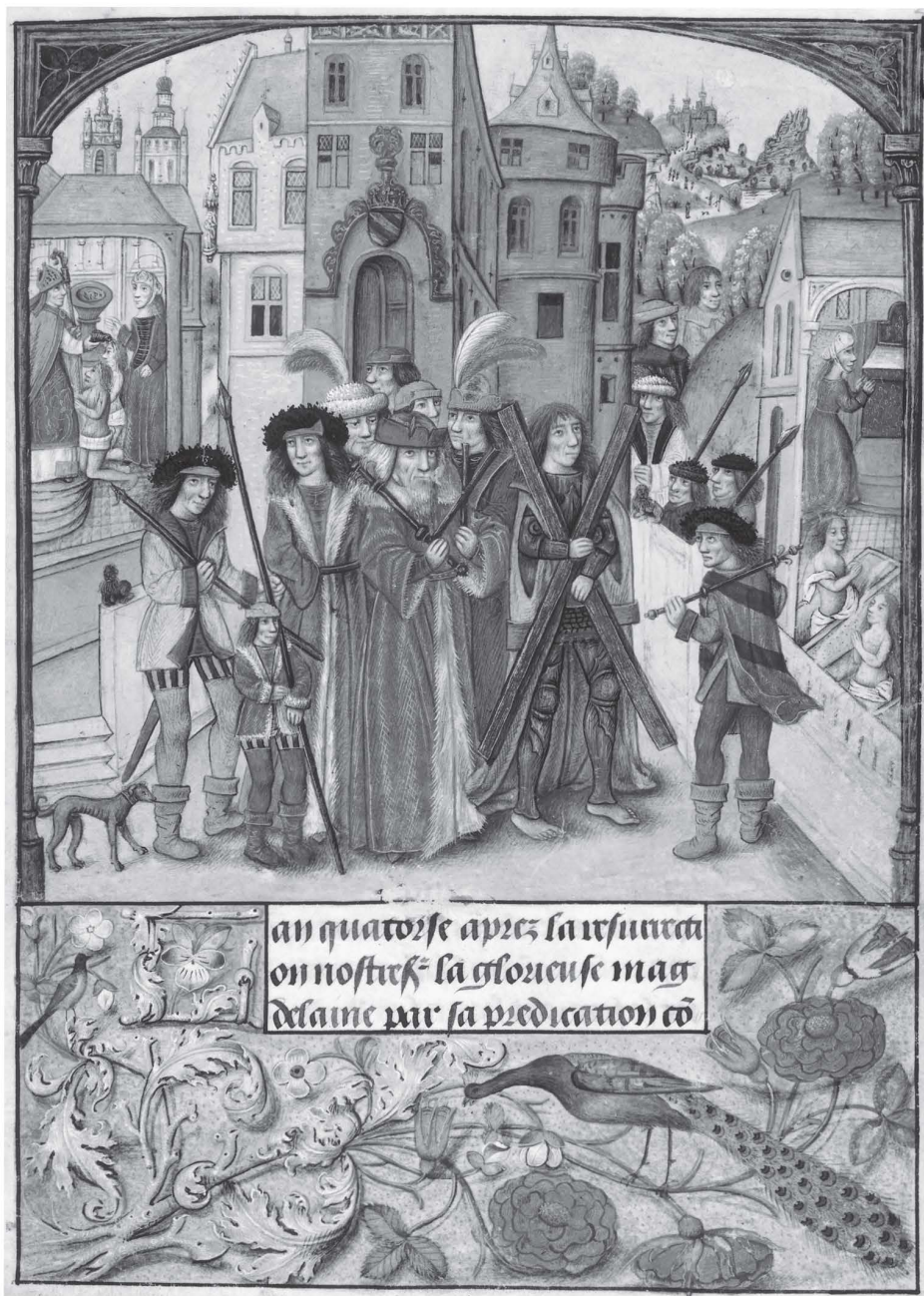
Plate 2. Miniature from British Library MS Yates Thompson 32, 'Chroniques de Bourgogne', fol. 2, depicting three scenes: baptism of the first king of Burgundy and his wife (left); Étienne, king of Burgundy, bearing the Cross of Saint Andrew (centre); Étienne, king of Burgundy, and mother resurrected through the intercession of Mary Magdalene (right). [With permission of the British Library.]

# 'LE PRINCE QUI SE VEULT FAIRE DE NOUVEL ROY'

## LITERATURE AND IDEOLOGY OF BURGUNDIAN SELF-DETERMINATION

### Jan R. Veenstra

*et aedificavit civitatem* (Gn 4, 17)

One of the most remarkable facts in the development of a nation is the importance as well as the reality of historical fiction. The histories of the European states from roughly the seventh to the nineteenth century are littered with origin myths and leader genealogies that speak for the creative minds of national historiographers rather than for a critical assessment of historical and socio-political realities. Positivistic and even moral approaches to history tend to discard these fictions, the former on the grounds that they tell untruths, the latter on the additional grounds that national myths are hostile to otherness. Such criticism, however, does little to explain the real presence of origin myths and national fictions since their existence does not derive from the urge to make positivistic truth claims or defend a position in moral philosophy. The historical fictions that I am referring to and that, for a long time, were believed to be true, were functional in specific socio-political contexts.

In her depiction of the 'imaginaire national et monarchique' (the image of France), Colette Beaune[1] situates the rise of national mythology against the backdrop of a tumultuous Europe where the shattering of the theocratic pretensions of the papacy and the contestation of the legitimacy of the Valois (by the English kings) generates the type of uncertainties and instabilities that simply beg for an ideological remedy. National myths create stability and justify a nation's present through its past. Even the future is contained in national origins, so that myths can be said to instil confidence and a sense of durability in a people. In a general sense, myth can be seen as a natural response of a nation to its socio-political environment.

The stories that a nascent state tells about itself are not only natural but also functional in that they serve clearly definable purposes such as stabili-

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[1] See C. Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris, 1985), pp. 7-11, 15-17. The book maps out the three domains in which the 'imaginaire' manifests itself: history, religion, and symbolism.

ty, justification, legitimisation, and authority. Despite its past pejorative connotations, ideology is here the appropriate term for the strategies that a state uses in deploying myths and national fictions to its advancement. In fact, ideology has been recognised as a necessary condition for state formation.[2] All states have ideologies, but not all ideologies result in states. The rise of the early European kingdoms was preceded by a notion of kingship, and these kingdoms in turn gave birth to the later nation states after fostering their main constitutive ideological values such as the projection of national identities onto the (distant) past or a teleological interpretation of history with the nation state as the natural result of a historical process.[3] The important thing to note here is that ideology not only legitimises but also *creates*. If ideologies contain myths and fictions, these fictions are indispensable for socio-political progress.

Not all ideologies result in states. The embryonic Burgundian state is an interesting case in point since its remaining records testify to its ambitions to achieve full autonomy even though its final immersion in the Habsburg realm aborted all possibilities of further development. The 'ideology of Burgundy' remains therefore scattered throughout the documentary evidence, and given that 'ideology' itself is a highly flexible notion,[4] I will content myself in this essay with a general definition of Burgundian ideology as a body of stories, symbols and ideas mainly devised for the purpose of self-justification and the creation of political autonomy.

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[2] H. J. M. Claessen and J. G. Oosten, 'Introduction', in: Claessen and Oosten, eds., *Ideology and the Formation of Early States* (Leiden, 1996), pp. 1-23, at p. 5. The notion of ideology was introduced by Destutt de Tracy around 1800, and remained tainted esp. in the context of Marxism, where it was labelled a 'false consciousness' (*idem*, pp. 7-8).

[3] J. Oosten, 'Ideology and the Development of European Kingdoms', in: Claessen and Oosten, *Ideology and the Formation of Early States* (see n. 2), pp. 220-241, at p. 221. Cf. also P. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton, 2002).

[4] Naturally, ideology goes far beyond the fabrication of creation myths and heroic narratives for the establishment of an autonomous power base or a 'national' consciousness. 'Ideology' in the sense used here (as a necessary condition for state formation) has an ontology all of its own that pervades not only the production of courtly literature, state propaganda and political historicism, but is also present in the economic and administrative fabric of a nascent state. One might trace it in the very language of politics, diplomacy and jurisprudence. See remarks by B. Hawkins, 'Incorporating Tension: On the Treatment of Ideology in Cognitive Linguistics', in: R. Dirven, B. Hawkins, E. Sandikcioglu, eds., *Language and Ideology, Volume 1: Theoretical Cognitive Approaches* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 2001), pp. 1-21, at pp. 8-9; and E. F. K. Koerner, 'Linguistics and Ideology', in the same volume, pp. 253-276, at pp. 253-254. There is an interesting observation by G. Lakoff (p. 9 and p. 37 in the same volume) that ideology need not necessarily be a fully articulate system of ideas as there may well be hidden or unconscious aspects.

The 'boast of heraldry and the pomp of power' have always been one of the main attractions of Burgundian history, and the exuberant display of wealth and the abundant symbolism of power that were of cardinal importance for the self-manifestation of the dukes on the European stage, have been studied extensively. Earlier historical criticism which tended to interpret the artistic and symbolic representations as a waning of medieval culture, as the props and trappings of a theatre state, have gradually given way to a more appreciative interpretation of Burgundian symbolism and Burgundian literature as the necessary constituents of the means of communication and the ideological propaganda of Burgundian power politics.[5] Such power cannot exist without communication or without a justificatory ideology. In the following paragraphs I intend to sketch some of the main elements of Burgundian ideology to demonstrate how the act of self-justification fostered or even defined their regal aspirations. Burgundy's *Werdegang* from vassalage to princely autonomy is determined by a number of remarkable and sometimes fortunate factors: their ambitions were fortified by the economic strength of their lands, but took a decisive turn with the assassination of Louis d'Orléans. This certainly influenced and even determined the dukes' desire to manifest themselves as kings in their own right. I shall deal with Burgundy's self-justificatory literature and their quest for a suitable crown shortly, but a preliminary sketch of Burgundian autonomy may briefly set the stage.[6]

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[5] Cf., e.g., S. Slanička, *Krieg der Zeichen: Die visuelle Politik Johanns ohne Furcht und der armagnakisch-burgundische Bürgerkrieg* (Göttingen, 2002); also P. E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart, 1954-1956). Important works on the symbolic politics of the town-state antagonisms in the Burgundian realm are: P. Arnade, *Realms of Ritual: Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca/London, 1996) and G. Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford, 1998). With a reference to Clifford Geertz's notion of the 'theatre state' whereby the ritual life of the court becomes paradigmatic of social order, Kipling (pp. 48-51) interprets the elaborate pageant of sin, repentance and redemption, following Philip the Good's crushing of the Bruges rebellion (1437), as a necessary condition for re-establishing the divinely ordained unity of the head and body of the state. For a recent survey of Burgundian artistic production, see B. Bradley, L. Channing, S. Laporte *et al.*, eds., *Art from the Court of Burgundy: The Patronage of Philip the Bold and John the Fearless 1364-1419*, exhib. catalogue (Paris/Cleveland, 2004).

[6] There are many general surveys of Burgundian history; the following is a small but canonical list. B. Schnerb, *L'État bourguignon 1363-1477* (Paris, 1999); R. Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State* (London, [1]1962); *idem, John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power* (London, [1]1966); *idem, Philip the Good. The Apogee of Burgundian Power* (London, 1970; repr. Woodbridge, 2002); *idem, Charles the Bold: The Last Valois Duke of Burgundy* (London, 1973; repr. Woodbridge, 2002); J. Calmette, *Les grands ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1956); W. Blockmans and W. Prevenier, *In de ban van Bourgondië* (Houten, 1988);

*Creating Burgundy*

At the base of the movement towards Burgundian autonomy lay the econ-
omic importance of the Flemish textile industry. Towns like Bruges, Ghent
and Ypres began to function like city-state republics where economic in-
terests (such as the import of British wool) overruled feudal loyalties,
spawned the formation of urban militias, and produced great wealth that in
turn fostered a strong urban self-consciousness and the desire for self-
governance. The full development of these city states – so successful else-
where in Europe – was checked by the political ambitions of the Bur-
gundian dukes who carried through a far-reaching centralisation of the in-
struments of power and whose authoritarian centralised state was soon
identified with the sovereign. In a way, they superimposed feudal mythol-
ogy on a small group of self-determinative regions that, with liberal hind-
sight, were in the process of developing their own systems of representative
government.

The success of the Burgundian consolidation of power has a lot to do
with the highly pragmatic and flexible diplomacy that the dukes would
demonstrate in their active politics. Already Philip the Bold, duke of Bur-
gundy since 1363 and count of Flanders through his marriage with Margaret
of Male in 1369, learned the necessity of speaking with a double tongue.
Promising allegiance to the French crown, he would at the same time con-
done the mercantile alliances with England which in the context of the
Hundred Years' War would be accounted high treason. In 1382, for in-
stance, Philip crushed the weaver's rebellion in Ghent and dissolved their
political and military connection with England, but he would turn a blind
eye to the trading agreement between Bruges and England. A similar course
of action would be taken by his son John the Fearless, who even more than
his father contributed to the formation of a centralised state. He won the
appreciation of his subjects by moving his council to Ghent, by levying fair
taxes and by instilling a sense of security into his people by strengthening
the military defences. At the same time he would disarm the Bruges guilds,
create pro-Burgundian networks in the circles of the urban elites, aim at
territorial expansion through pro-Burgundian marriage alliances, and de-
monstrate his superior power at the battle of Othée (1408) which enraged
the French and greatly discouraged the urban guilds from military insurrec-
tion.

The economic importance of Flanders, and the mercantile relations with
England (which lead to an unavoidable policy of double agendas) were the

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and also Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands: The Low Countries under
Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530*, transl E. Fackelman and E. Peters (Philadelphia,
1999). On the assassination of Louis d'Orléans, see B. Guenée, *Un meurtre, une
société: l'assassinat du duc d'Orléans 23 novembre 1407* (Paris, 1992).

initial guiding lights of Burgundian power politics, but by no means were they sufficient causes for the alienation between Burgundy and France that would in the end produce the mental independence of Burgundian self-consciousness. To this contributed a number of historical contingencies and – perhaps more importantly – their interpretations, for the stories that the fifteenth-century mind would weave around the exploits of John the Fearless greatly determined the Burgundian image; it takes a drama to turn *faits accomplis* into destiny. The drama began with the deaths of King Charles V (1380) and Louis d'Anjou (1384), who perished during his Italian adventure. The French treasury was left at the mercy of Philip of Burgundy and Louis d'Orléans who made liberal use of its resources to serve their regional interests. Charles VI was initially too young to rule and later, having come of age, too mentally disturbed. Having won the affections of Queen Isabel, Louis d'Orléans gained effective control of the country and put a stop to Burgundy's annual income (some 200,000 francs). John the Fearless posed as the man of the people, understanding their social needs, unmasking his spendthrift and adulterous rival, but Louis struck back by supporting anti-Burgundian sentiments in Liège and diminishing Burgundian support in the royal council. On November 23, 1407, John had Louis d'Orléans assassinated by mercenaries. This heinous deed outraged the nobility and a fair portion of later historians, but since the days of Cain a primordial deed of violence has been known to set the stage for serious nation building. For John the Fearless, at any rate, there was no way back.

Louis's widow, Valentina Visconti, gained the support of the dukes of Berry and Bourbon and rallied the Armagnac faction (so named after Valentina's son-in-law) to oppose Burgundy. For a time, John the Fearless was a popular hero in Paris and he caused himself to be rehabilitated by the *Justification* of Jehan Petit. According to Burgundy, Louis d'Orléans had been a tyrant and a usurper and Burgundian propaganda was as good as any modern tabloid in exposing the duke's scandalous private life. Under the constant threat of civil war, the Burgundian-Armagnac conflict would gradually gain momentum, even more so after 1413 when John the Fearless overplayed his hand in supporting the Cabochien revolt (named after one of the leaders, Simon Caboche). This riot of the Parisian butchers (probably instigated by Burgundians and government officials who were keen on reform) created chaos in opposition to which the Armagnacs manifested themselves as a party of order. As a result, popular affections changed camp and John the Fearless had to flee back to Flanders. His allegiance to France was further taxed by Henry V of England whose victory at Agincourt (October 1415) gave force to his hopes for an Anglo-Burgundian alliance. In the pamphlet war with the Armagnacs, the Burgundians unscrupulously accused the Armagnacs of treason and of having plotted with the English, but now that France was more or less divided amongst the three rivalling forces, the Burgundians did not shrink from negotiating with the English as

well as with the Armagnacs. The latter, however, took the gravest possible exception and on September 10, 1419, John the Fearless was assassinated on the bridge near Montereau.[7]

Although he would officially accuse the dauphin of murder and initially continue the pro-English politics of his father, Philip the Good would soon take an independent course. England's continental ambitions, fostered by the marriage between Henry V and Catherine, the daughter of the late Charles VI of France, which made the English king heir to the French throne by the terms of the Treaty of Troyes (1420), were finally checked by the Treaty of Arras of 1435.[8] This Treaty recognised Philip as a European ruler and relieved him of his duties as vassal of the French crown, but also prohibited him from making peace with England. Philip promised Charles VII support in the war against the English (a promise he never kept) and incurred the wrath of the English, who saw the Arras Treaty as treason. Hugues de Lannoy, the Burgundian stadholder of Holland, would later conduct negotiations with the English – all in the good cause of Philip's supreme balancing act which would maintain a cold peace (or cold war as the case might be) with the French and the English but which at the same time would allow Philip to manifest himself as an independent ruler and to lay claims to the title of king.

At home, Philip suppressed the riots in Bruges and Ghent and a remarkable feature of his strategies to centralise power and Burgundianise the circles of clergy, nobility and the urban elites was the strategic appointments and marriages[9] that greatly extended the sphere of influence of the ducal court. The Burgundian lands prospered under Philip the Good to such

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[7] The standard monograph on Jehan Petit is still A. Coville, *Jean Petit: La question du tyrannicide au commencement du XVe siècle* (Genève, 1974; [1]1932); also by Coville, *Les Cabochiens et l'ordonnance de 1413* (Paris, 1888); M. Nordberg, 'Les sources bourguignonnes des accusations portées contre la mémoire de Louis d'Orléans', in: *Annales de Bourgogne* 31 (1959), pp. 82-98; G. T. Diller, 'The Assassination of Louis of Orléans: The Overlooked Artistry of Enguerran de Monstrelet', in: *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 10 (1984), pp. 57-68; B. Schnerb, *Les Armagnacs et les Bourguignons. La maudite guerre* (Paris, 1988).

[8] The Congress of Arras convened by Philip the Good was a show piece of ceremonial politics. Apart from laying the foundations of the Burgundian state, it also afforded Duke Philip the opportunity to impress the extravagance of Burgundian ritual on the European heads of state. See Blockmans and Prevenier, *The Promised Lands* (see n. 6), p. 81; A. J. Vanderjagt, 'The Princely Culture of the Valois Dukes of Burgundy', in: M. Gosman, A. MacDonald, and A. Vanderjagt, eds., *Princes and Princely Culture 1450-1650*, vol. 1 (Leiden, 2003), pp. 67-70; J. G. Dickinson, *The Congress of Arras 1435: A Study in Medieval Diplomacy* (Oxford, 1955).

[9] On Burgundian marriage politics, see: W. Paravicini, *Invitations au mariage: Pratique sociale, abus de pouvoir, intérêt de l'État à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne 1399-1489. Documents introduits, édités et commentés* (Stuttgart, 2001).

an extent that the Emperor Frederick III's refusal to bestow on Philip a regal title was mainly instigated by his own weakness and his fear that Burgundy would become too powerful.

This changed dramatically when Charles the Bold succeeded his father in 1467. Some decades later Machiavelli would explain that not strategies but a ruler's ability to adapt to new situations and to change his plans overnight, if necessary, is the surest means of maintaining power. This was a flexibility that Charles was in dire need of. He had alienated himself from his father, who, in his view, was too much involved with the Croÿ family. He ruined his army by stubbornly wasting money and military strength on the destruction of rebellious Liège and on the fateful sieges of Neuss and Nancy. A crucial factor in the decline of Burgundian power was the sly politics of Louis XI of France who, as dauphin, had spent time at the Burgundian court, and now used his knowledge to undermine the ducal state – mainly by fuelling the spirit of insurrection in the Burgundian towns, which would keep Charles busy so that he could annex Franche-Comté and invade Picardy, Hainault and Artois. Charles the Bold continued the pomp and circumstance of the Burgundian court, followed his father's line in the politics of centralising power, and boasted his dynastic claims with even greater gusto. But Burgundian ideology and its symbols of power gradually lost all relevance during his reign as the great dynastic ambition was eventually thwarted. Loss of relevance, however, is not the same as lack of significance. Destiny did not evacuate the ideology of Burgundy: it merely fossilised it.

### To Justify the Ways

The Burgundian literature of justification that signalled the first ideological steps towards Burgundian autonomy does not live up to the standards of serious scholarship or poetic excellence. Nevertheless, Doutrepont was correct in singling out texts such as the *Justification*, the *Geste des Ducs de Bourgogne*, the *Livre des Trahisons* and the *Pastoralet* as epitomal literary productions of the nascent Burgundian state, for although nations are built by force rather than verse, there is ample reason to regard these texts as exponents of Burgundian propaganda and political aggression.[10] In some

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[10] The text of the *Justification* can be found in Monstrelet, *La chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet, 1400-1444*, ed. L. Douët-d'Arcq, 6 vols. (Paris, 1857-1862), vol. 1, chapter 39, pp. 177-244. A reply was presented by the abbot of Cérisy for the Armagnac faction, the text of which can be found in the same volume, chapter 44, pp. 269-336. See also C. C. Willard, 'The Manuscripts of Jean Petit's *Justification*: Some Burgundian Propaganda Methods of the Early Fifteenth Century', in: *Studi Francesi* 13 (1969), pp. 271-280. The other Burgundian 'masterpieces' were edited by Kervyn de Lettenhove in *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de la Belgique sous la*

ways these justificatory texts give ideological support to Burgundian power
politics and Burgundian military exploits and precisely their failure to attain
to a higher literary status will make their readers more easily aware of a
fundamental strategy of literary propaganda: it not only creates the nar-
ratives and histories that are required to legitimate its cause, but – in the
presence of an already existing field of ideological narratives – it is also in
search of literature or historical narrative to *accommodate* its cause. In the
following excursions we will be concerned not only with fictional narratives
but also – and more importantly – with 'accommodating narratives' in Bur-
gundian literature and ideology. These 'accommodating narratives' were
especially tailored to fit Burgundian size. Because the stories and their
frames of reference were commonly known, they would almost naturally
command acceptance and consent, even though the glove was made to fit a
new hand.

The first of these Burgundian literary productions was certainly not in-
tended as a literary text, for it was born out of the sheer necessity for John
the Fearless either to confess to the assassination of Louis d'Orléans (and
thereby seal his own ruin) or to defend himself. He opted for the latter, and
presented some justificatory documents stating the particulars of the assas-
sination and his motives for perpetrating such an act. These texts were
preambles to the official *Justification* delivered by master Jehan Petit (*c.*
1360-1411) at the royal court in Paris on 8 March, 1408. Petit was a master
of theology whose studies had been financed by the duke of Burgundy, and
whose services were now called upon in the cause of Burgundian pro-
paganda. Together with four lawyers and a theologian he worked on the
*Justification* for two months. The argument hinged on the legitimacy of
tyrannicide (a point that found support in authorities such as Aquinas and
John of Salisbury[11]) and the assertion that the duke of Orléans had been a
tyrant (a point where rhetorical invention was stretched to the limit). To
substantiate the latter claim, Louis d'Orléans was boldly accused of high
treason or lese-majesty which was considered to be the greatest crime
imaginable since it offended both human and divine majesty. The offence
might take a number of shapes: it might be an offence against God (as in
heresy and idolatry) or an offence against the Church (as in schisms); it
might also imply an assault on king or queen or princes of the blood royal,
or even on the state or commonwealth. The distinctions that Petit makes in

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*domination des ducs de Bourgogne: Le livre des trahisons de France – La geste des
duc de Bourgogne – Le Pastoralet* (Bruxelles, 1873). Of the *Pastoralet*, written be-
tween 1422 and 1425, there is a modern edition: *Le Pastoralet*, ed. J. Blanchard
(Paris, 1983). See G. Doutrepont, *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de
Bourgogne* (Paris, 1909), p. 289.

[11] Thomas Aquinas, *De regimine principum* I.3 and John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*
III.15.

his address, however, do not imply that human and divine majesty are two separate entities. Since kingship and commonwealth are divinely instituted, there are ontological ties that bind the whole fabric of authority together in one order. And especially the kings of France, who could pride themselves on Charlemagne or Saint Louis as predecessors and hence claimed for themselves the title *christianissimus*, boasted a unique religious status among Christian monarchs.[12] As a result, lese-majesty could be seen as an assault on the king, the realm and God in one go. This close interrelation between human and divine authority had the particularly alarming consequence that lese-majesty as a political offence automatically entailed religious offence so that political accusations also bore the sinister implications of heresy, idolatry and schism. In Jehan Petit's argumentation this double accusation can be found in the libellous claims that Louis d'Orléans not only usurped the power of the king but that he did so by means of sorcery. Petit devotes a section on 'nigromance', 'invocations', 'sorceries' and 'maléfices' to prove that dabbling in ritual magic (which involves the invocation of spirits) is, in fact, idolatry, and much of his argument for the justification of tyrannicide relies on Louis d'Orléans's dealings with magic.[13] The greater the traitor, the more meritorious is the act of vengeance. Since the duke of Orléans was guilty of high treason against God, king and commonwealth, his assailant should be praised rather than persecuted.

One must needs resort to fiction in order to substantiate slander, and going through the *exempla* and the narratives that Jehan Petit has collected to give strength to his argument, one can clearly see how existing stories have been refashioned to provide new interpretations and even new reconstructions of the events at the French royal court at the beginning of the fifteenth century. To make a case for tyrannicide on the basis of the religious deviations of rulers, Petit tells of the fates of Julian the Apostate and Sambry (Zimri in Numbers 25).

The Emperor Julian had reinstated pagan religion and the worship of idols. Travelling through Cappadocia one day, he took offence at the offering of barley that the inhabitants of Caesarea presented to him. Julian made threats to the local bishop, St Basil, that on his return he would destroy the

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[12] Next to Kantorowicz's general study on medieval political theology (*The King's Two Bodies*) and Colette Beaune's *Naissance de la nation France* (see n. 1), cf. also M. Bloch, *Les Rois Thaumaturges* (Paris/Strasbourg, 1924). Regal claims to the title *christianissimus* became stronger through conflicts between the kings of France and the papacy. See J. Britnell, 'Conflict of Image? The Most Christian King makes War on the Pope', in: *Building the Past/Konstruktion der eigenen Vergangenheit*, eds. R. Suntrup and J. Veenstra (Frankfurt am Main, 2006), pp. 261-271.

[13] See Monstrelet, *Chronique* (see n. 10), vol. 1, pp. 217-218. On occult interests at the court of Charles VI, see my *Magic and Divination at the Courts of Burgundy and France* (Leiden, 1998), chapter 2, *passim*.

city, and the people of the town began to collect their jewels and valuables in a desperate attempt to appease the emperor. St Basil prayed and received a vision in which he saw a local saint, the chevalier Mercure, brought back to life by the Holy Virgin. This knight took the arms which were suspended over his tomb in the church in which he was buried, and killed the emperor in the presence of his servants. The vision greatly upset St Basil and when he visited the church with his townspeople they found the arms in their usual place but the lance was covered with blood. And Julian the Apostate, of course, was dead. The story contains small references that bring to mind the duke of Orléans. He was known to levy heavy taxes and he was killed in the presence of servants. The tale also emphasises that tyrannicide is not only legitimised but even ordained by heaven, and we are no doubt persuaded to imagine John the Fearless in the role of the chevalier Mercure.

The example of Duke Sambry makes the parallels even more explicit. The story goes back on an episode from the book of Numbers in which Moses is commanded to hang all Israelites who had worshiped the idols of Moab. This idolatry had been brought about by associations with Moabite women and one of the trespassers, Sambry, is killed by Phineas, who drives his sword with a single thrust through Sambry and his mistress as they lie in an intimate embrace. Petit refashions this tale strategically. He makes Sambry a duke and a leader of a large following (the 24,000 idolaters who where slain by Moses), and his mistress is described as the most beautiful woman in the land. The slaying of Duke Sambry and his mistress, Petit argues, is justified on the grounds that they had either joined in the idolatry or had abstained from avenging the idolatrous acts of the others. Hence, such an act of vengeance is not merely pardonable, it is even obligatory. John the Fearless is thus implicitly presented as a champion of the faith. In Sambry Petit's audience could recognise Louis d'Orléans and in the Moabite mistress Louis's widow, Valentina Visconti, a renowned beauty who was suspected of practicing sorcery. That Sambry is presented as the leader of a faction ties in with the Armagnac front that was forming against John the Fearless, and that for some time threatened to plunge France into civil war.

The threat of war is adumbrated by another one of Petit's examples, the story of Lucifer, the rebel angel, who rose against his Creator with the intention of usurping His throne and who started a war in heaven. St Michael – a heavenly John of Burgundy, we may gather – slew the rebellious angel and threw him and his host into hell. The narrative was put into verse in the *Geste* where quite some emphasis is placed on the fact that Michael acted 'sans license de Dieu'.

> *Comme naige en jenvier, bien quinze jours dura,*
> *Ne plouvoit que faus angles ; la glore en nettoia*
> *Sains Mychies qui de ce sans congiet s'avancha.*

> *N'en fu mie punis, mais ançois Dieus li donna*
> *Très-noble gueredon et sa glore doubla ;*
> *Vicaire des angles adont l'institua.*
> *Osi mon dit segneur de Bourgongne de là,*
> *Pour vengier le malisse et mort c'on pourcacha*
> *Sus son segneur et roy, tant fist et pourcacha*
> *Que de mort temporelle ycelui afinna.*
> *S'il le fist sans congiet, pour çou ne doit-il jà*
> *Avoir punition ; ançois apiertenra*
> *Qu'il ait grant gueredon de son roy qu'il ama,*
> *Qui par sens et par forche se mort li destourna.*[14]

Though the opponent of Jehan Petit, Thomas de Bourg, the abbot of Cérisy, would claim that Petit's representation of the story was theologically unsound, the emphasis that the *Geste* places on the tale not only reaffirms the claim, but turns the matter into a subject of considerable pride on the part of Burgundy. Acting 'sans license' does not discredit the Burgundian duke's loyalty to God but establishes him as a just and upright agent in his own right. This would, in fact, remain a theological issue of some importance at the later Burgundian court when Vasque de Lucène translated Xenophon's *Cyropédie*. Cyrus was called the 'Lord's anointed' in the Bible although he was not one of the chosen people. For Charles the Bold Cyrus became the epitome of a just ruler, divinely instituted without intermediary (ecclesiastical) authority.[15] Burgundian self-determination has distinct theological elements.

Nevertheless, the question whether or not John the Fearless had a license to kill did continue to vex the minds of Burgundian authors. The Burgundian-Armagnac conflict was dealt with extensively in justificatory texts such as the *Livre des Trahisons* and the *Pastoralet* and this latter thinly disguised pastoral fable especially took poetic liberties in presenting the details of the Orléans assassination. Louis d'Orléans is called Tristifer by the unknown poet of the fable, who introduces himself as Bucarius. Tristifer becomes the lover of Belligère (Isabel of Bavaria, the queen) and makes an attempt to poison his brother Florentin (King Charles VI) which helps to bring about the latter's insanity.[16] He goes even further in his attempts to

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[14] *Geste* (see n. 10), lines 2048-2061, p. 320.

[15] See Isa. 45,1-7; D. Gallet-Guerne, *Vasque de Lucène et la Cyropédie à la cour de Bourgogne (1470). Le traité de Xénophon mis en français d'apres la version latine du Pogge* (Genève, 1974); A. J. Vanderjagt, *'Qui sa vertu anoblist'. The Concepts of noblesse and chose publicque in Burgundian Political Thought* (Groningen, 1981), pp. 58-60; and idem, 'Expropriating the Past: Tradition and Innovation in the Use of Texts in Fifteenth-Century Burgundy', in: R. Suntrup and J. Veenstra, eds., *Tradition and Innovation in an Era of Change / Tradition und Innovation im Übergang zur Frühen Neuzeit* (Frankfurt am Main, 2001), pp. 177-201, at p. 188.

[16] *Pastoralet*, ed. Blanchard (see n. 10), p. 89, lines 1969-1972: *Trop mal fist qui*

ruin Florentin and his family by staging a charivary in which he sets fire to the costumes and by using magical charms.[17] Accusations of using magic and of his involvement in the tragic 'bal des ardents' haunted Louis d'Orléans, initially in court gossip but later also in Burgundian propaganda literature. Florentin calls on Leonet (John the Fearless) to avenge him, and one night Leonet has two dreams. In the first he dreams of killing Tristifer, and in the second he encounters universal cheer and happiness. Visiting the temple of Mars in the morning, Leonet learns from the deity that his dreams are truthful: *Bien saches que tes songes / sont vray sans quelcunques mensonges*.[18] But this is not entirely true. Leonet sees to the killing of Tristifer, but the result of this is not peace but war – a war that will result in his own demise. The second dream therefore was a lie.

The *Pastoralet* was written in the early twenties, some time after the assassination of John the Fearless, and apart from emphasising that John did receive a license from the king to avenge him (which is a fiction), the poet is also very conscious of the disasters that the Burgundian-Armagnac conflict has brought about. Leonet/John the Fearless was deceived by the god of war.

In Burgundian literature there is always a certain degree of unease regarding Burgundy's alienation from France. In the *Livre des trahisons* (written around 1470) the dying Philip the Bold tells his sons to guard the crown of France and to consider the Burgundian lands as being *en fief et en homaige du royaume de France*.[19] John the Fearless is explicitly portrayed as the king's champion to defend the monarch against the machinations of Louis d'Orléans, who is out to usurp the throne and kill the king. John the Fearless himself is portrayed as a strong and decisive leader who takes on full responsibility for the slaying of the duke of Orléans, and who self-confidently pleads in his own defence as if there had been no mercenaries or hired lawyers to do the work for him. He seems to take a particular pride in his own actions, which he labels as *mon singullier fait*.[20] Burgundy's strong

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*l'empoisonna, / Et, se tel poison ly donna / Son frere, frere n'estoit mie, / Mais anemis.* Cf. also *Livre des trahisons* (see n. 10), pp. 6-7.

[17] *Pastoralet*, ed. Blanchard (see n. 10), p. 93, lines 2158-2159: Tristifer attempts to destroy Florentin *par sors et par charmes et par droit art d'enchantement*. The 'bal des ardents' is a standard topic in Burgundian literature. It can be found in the *Pastoralet* (*idem*, lines 2200-2232, pp. 94-95), in the *Livre des Trahisons* (see n. 10), pp. 4-5, and in the *Justification* [Monstrelet, vol. 1 (see n. 10), pp. 233-234].

[18] *Pastoralet*, ed. Blanchard (see n. 10), p. 102, lines 2503-2504.

[19] *Livre des trahisons* (see n. 10), p. 14: *Je vous enjoings, sur le péril de vostre âme, que vous metés ceur, corps et chevance, de toutte vostre entente, à garder le droit de lat couronne de France, comme vous y estes tenus, tant à cause de sang et de linaige comme pour les héritaiges que je vous laisse, lesquels vou tenrés en fief et en homaige du royaume de France.*

[20] *Livre des trahisons* (see n. 10), p. 21: *Or estoit-il bien besoing au roy de avoir*

devotion to the French crown will take a decisive turn in the opposite direction. This is evident from the rest of the *Livre des trahisons*, which takes Burgundian history well into the reign of Philip the Good and his conflicts with King Louis XI. But the turning point is not the assassination of Louis d'Orléans, but the assassination of John the Fearless on the bridge near Montereau. It is interesting to read with what rhetorical gusto the *Livre* laments the French treason:

> *O Jehan Boccasse, noble historien, quy as par tes escrips empraint ès ceurs des hommes les fais mervilleux et en tous temps dignes de mémoire, que n'as-tu rengne habille de regarder à ton œil naturel choses sy trayteusement et desnaturellement faittes ou conclutes de faire sur ces nobles princes cy-dessus nommés comme les ducs de Bourgongne Philippe et Jehan, dignes en leur temps de septre et de couronne que leur destruiseur ...*

The remarkable thing is not so much that the anonymous author places de Burgundian dukes in the company of Boccaccio's illustrious men, but that he calls them *mieulx dignes de septre et de couronne* – more worthy of crown and sceptre than the French dauphin who slew John the Fearless. He refers to a *dignité pristine, assavoir royalle*, because their predecessors had been kings of the ancient kingdom of Burgundy.[21] Thus loyalty to the French crown is turned into royalty by nature and merit. It is the inevitable outcome of a process of alienation that began with the murder of Louis d'Orléans.

## The Blood Royal

The reign of Philip the Good put a decisive stamp on the historiography of the time. Not only did notable historians find employment at the ducal court, but Burgundian national mythology began to take shape. Its themes drifted away from justificatory arguments, and instead of a literature of opposition there arose a literature of consolidation. This new Burgundian

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*campion pour résister à telles emprinses*; regarding the assassination: *idem*, p. 22: *je vous déclare que ce que fait en a esté, c'est ma propre coulpe, et ne soit nuls quy en demande ou encoulpe autruy que moy; c'est mon singullier fait, et sy vous dis que je l'ay fait à bonne et juste cause, et sy estoit convenable et nécessaire de le faire pour l'honneur de la couronne et le bien du royaume...* John the Fearless defends himself: *idem*, pp. 25-26: *S'il est prinche, tant soit puissant, ne tant prochain parent qui menache de mort son signeur, et chieux quy le scet et s'en perchoit plainement, n'en prende vengeance, je dis qu'il n'est ne bon, ne léal contre son droiturier seigneur; et, se cellui quy ainssy veult avanchier la mort de son dit signeur, est sy puissant que vengance ne s'en puist prendre par justice, il est loisible que à toutte heure, soit de nuyt ou de jour, en agait ou autrement pugnition soit prinse de luy.*

[21] *Livre des trahisons* (see n. 10), pp. 145-146.

literature took its inspiration from epic material, from the myth of Troy, and from the local mythologies of the Burgundianised regions that contributed to the formation of the Burgundian state.[22] It was from these local histories and myths that the dukes tried to derive their regal claims.

In the field of 'accommodating narratives', the Troy mythology was the most productive for Burgundian ideology, as it motivated the dukes to undertake actions and unfold initiatives that would make a lasting impression not only on their contemporaries, but also on posterity. To emphasise his independence of the ruling North-European dynasties, Philip the Good did two important things in 1430: he married Isabella of Portugal and founded the Order of the Golden Fleece. Like Alexander the Great (another one of Burgundy's heroes) the legend of Jason, one of the Trojan heroes, had first come to the duke through a pictorial image in a tapestry, but Philip's interest in Jason was more than purely symbolic.[23] On one of the Burgundian missions in the Mediterranean, admiral Walerand de Wavrin set out to find the site of Troy, not as a fifteenth-century Schliemann, but rather in the cause of a Burgundian *Ahnenerbe*. When sometime later, in 1448, Jean Wauquelin produced his translation of Guise's *Annales de Hainault*, he made a strong claim that Philip was of Trojan descent. The Golden Fleece at its foundation had two patrons: Jason, who with the help of Medea stole

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[22] See G. Small, 'Local Elites and 'National Mythologies' in the Burgundian Dominions in the Fifteenth Century', in: Suntrup and Veenstra, eds., *Building the Past* (see n. 12), pp. 229-245; Y. Lacaze, 'Le rôle des traditions dans la genèse d'un sentiment national au XVe siècle: la Bourgogne de Philippe le Bon', in: *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 129 (1971), pp. 303-385. Burgundian interest in local mythologies was an important strategy in bringing certain regions under Burgundian rule, whilst at the same time honouring their local identities. Small points out, with a reference to C. Armstrong, that 'Burgundian power was something of a syndicate in which people took stakes so as to share in the fortunes of the house' (C. A. J. Armstrong, 'The Golden Age of Burgundy: The Dukes that Outdid Kings', in A. Dickens, ed., *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty, 1400-1800* (London, 1975), pp. 55-75, at p. 60). On Burgundian patronage of historiography, see M. Zingel, *Frankreich, das Reich und Burgund im Urteil der burgundischen Historiographie des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Sigmaringen, 1995); C. Emerson, *Olivier de La Marche and the Rhetoric of Fifteenth-Century Historiography* (Woodbridge, 2004); and P. Jodogne, 'La rhétorique dans l'historiographie bourguignonne', in: *Culture et pouvoir au temps de l'Humanisme et de la Renaissance* (Genève, 1978), pp. 51-65.

[23] See Vanderjagt, *'Qui sa vertu anoblist'* (see n. 15), pp. 20-21; Doutrepont, *La littérature française* (see n. 10), pp. 147-176. Vanderjagt, 'The Princely Culture of the Valois Dukes of Burgundy' (see n. 8), p. 63, points at the syncrisis of Jason and Gideon. In 1481, Olivier de La Marche explained that bishop Jean Germain had forwarded Gideon as a replacement for Jason at the 1431 chapter meeting, but in practice both figures remained important. For an extensive treatment of the Order of the Golden Fleece, see Jonathan Boulton's chapter in the present volume.

the Golden Fleece from Colchis, and then broke his vow to marry her; and Gideon, the Jewish warrior, who through a sheepskin received a sign from God that he would be victorious in battle (Judges 6, 37-40). These narratives of cunning, theft and justified rebellion, concealed behind a gilded fleece, not only retain the outlines of the previous justificatory narratives but also mark the logical transition to the next intended phase of Burgundian self-determination, namely the formation of a Burgundian kingdom. Though this ideal was never realised, there are nevertheless clear indications that Burgundian authors paved the way by collecting and refashioning the accommodating narratives that could help to validate the ducal ambitions.

The regal aspirations of the Burgundian dukes were anchored in three kingdoms: Frisia, Lotharingia and the ancient kingdom of Burgundy (explicitly referred to by the author of the *Livre des trahisons*). A royal title would bestow on the dukes a stature and authority to match their actual power, and both literary fictions and, to a far lesser extent, historical contingencies furnished the dukes with the ideological material to substantiate their claim. The 'Burgundian kingdom' is dealt with admirably in another essay in the present volume.[24] I concentrate on the claims on the Frisian crown, since narratives of Frisian kingship are a good example of an accommodating literature that (like the Burgundians themselves) wavers between the ideals of independent kingship and loyalty to France (in the person of Charlemagne).

Burgundian interest in the Frisian crown was first explored by Jongkees, who neatly summarised the ducal claims and all actual attempts that were made to conquer the Frisian lands. Formally these claims date back to April 1433, when Jacoba of Bavaria conferred the rights on her lands to Philip the Good, so that the duke became count of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland and lord of Friesland – *Dominus Maioris atque Minoris Frisiae* – a title he inherited from the earlier counts of Holland. Nominal lordship evidently did not suffice for the duke, for when he installed his son David as bishop in Utrecht in 1456, he continued to march with his army to the east with the clear intention of conquering Friesland. Fierce resistance at Deventer brought his troops to a halt and more pressing affairs caused him to abandon his project – much to the relief of the Frisians who had been greatly alarmed and were bent on setting their mutual differences aside to unite and defend their liberty. Charles the Bold, likewise insisting on his title 'Lord of Friesland', had similar plans in 1469 (which caused the Groningers to fortify their town) but his attempt was also aborted by more urgent matters.[25] Two

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[24] See Graeme Small's 'Of Burgundian Dukes, Counts, Saints and Kings'.

[25] A. G. Jongkees, 'Het koninkrijk Friesland in de vijftiende eeuw', in: A. G. Jongkees, *Burgundica et Varia: Keuze uit de verspreide opstellen* (Hilversum, 1990), pp. 27-47. On Philip's plans to conquer Friesland, see: Worp Tyaerda van Rinsumageest

aborted military attempts do not seem to make the Frisian crown an asset worth fighting for, but it does illustrate that there were strong ideological motives behind it. Both campaigns demonstrate that the dukes were serious in their interest in Friesland, and both were followed by negotiations with the emperor. In 1417 Sigismund had ratified Frisian liberty and made the Frisian lands dependent immediately on the Empire. In 1457 Frederick III, who had supported the Frisians in warding off Philip the Good, did the same. When Philip strove to obtain the title king of Frisia, Frederick III would only allow the title 'king of Brabant' since Philip wanted 'Friesland' to include the 'pays de Uustfrise', which included too much of the North Sea coastal territories for the taste of the emperor. Charles's ambitions to procure a kingdom of Frisia, brought forward at the Trier conference of 1473, also met with objections from Frederick.[26] Thus kingship for the Burgundians remained an ideological matter requiring rhetorical skills and imagination, but never reached sufficient momentum to be effectively seized by force.

   Frisia had great ideological value for Burgundy, and this is evident not only from Philip's openly expressed desire to become king of Frisia (in 1447) but also from bishop Jean Germain's plea at the Council of Basel on behalf of Burgundy's claim to the Frisian kingship (much earlier in 1433).[27] In fact, the very name of Frisia had a regal aura. Froissart had spoken of *Frise qui est ung grant royaulme et puissant*, Jean Germain called it *Frisia Maior, amplum et antiquum regnum*, and Olivier de La Marche referred to it as *la haulte Frise, que l'on nomme l'ung des XVII royaulmes crestiens* and a *regnum egregium*.[28] Furthermore, Frisian kings surfaced occasionally in *chansons de geste* and *romans* with which the ducal library was well-furnished and from which the dukes loved to be read.

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(= Worp of Thabor), *Vierde boek der kronijken van Friesland, bevattende de geschiedenis van de vijftiende eeuw* (Leeuwarden, 1850), pp. 91-96, at p. 91: *Deese hartoch Philippus sende veel brieuen ende boden an die Friesen in Oostergoo ende Westergo, datse hem solden huldigen ende ontfaen voor een here ...; ende waert, datse dat met wille niet deeden, soe dochte hy Frieslant met crachte in te nemen ende onder zynen subiectie te brengen.* Charles's plans for a similar attack likewise united the Frisians: see *idem*, pp. 114-118. See also Jongkees, 'Bourgondië en de Friese Vrijheid', in: *Burgundica et Varia*, pp. 52-65.

[26] Jongkees, 'Het koninkrijk Friesland' (see n. 25), pp. 32-35. On the ratification of Frisian liberty in 1417 and the Burgundian claims, see O. Vries, *Het Heilige Roomse Rijk en de Friese Vrijheid* (Leeuwarden, 1986), pp. 37-47, 72-84.

[27] Jongkees, 'Bourgondië en de Friese Vrijheid' (see n. 25), p. 58.

[28] Jongkees, 'Het koninkrijk Friesland' (see n. 25), p. 30. See the *Chronique d'Adrien de Brut*, in: *Chroniques relatives à l'Histoire de la Belgique sous la domination des ducs de Bourgogne: Textes latins, Chroniques des religieux des Dunes*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1870), p. 554. On the 'seventeen' kingdoms, see Rob Stein's contribution in the present volume.

It is doubtful whether they were familiar with the early medieval references to Frisian kings. There are mythical kings (like Finn Folcwalding in *Beowulf*) who were unknown in the Burgundian literary universe. And there are historical kings like Aldgisl (who received Wilfrid, the archbishop of York, in 678, and allowed him to preach the Gospel) and Redbad (Radbodus) who fought a war with the Franks. Redbad (who died in 719) is mentioned by Bede who calls him *rex* and by Frankish chroniclers who insist that he is a *dux*. Though Anglo-Saxon use of the term *rex* should be approached with some reservations (the term denoted 'warlord', and what Roman sources identified as *reges* were usually chiefs of short-lived confederacies), Frankish use of the term *dux* certainly bears the implication of political submission. In 734 the Frisians were defeated by the Franks and the later *Lex Frisionum* (allegedly drawn up on the behest of Charlemagne in 804) distinctly applies to a *ducatus Fresiae*.[29] The idea of a subdued duchy cherishing the legends of bygone kingship and living in a spirit of stubborn independence certainly must have appealed to a duchy ready to throw off its feudal fetters and coveting regal authority. Furthermore there is the striking parallel of the cordial relations with the Anglo-Saxons and the English. The question is, from what traditions did the Burgundians derive their knowledge of the *amplum et antiquum regnum* and to what extent did these traditions provide them with a myth to mirror their majesty? Roughly speaking there are two traditions of legendary Frisia. The first is Frisian in origin and focuses mainly on Frisian liberty and freedom from feudal overlordship. The second is clearly Frankish, and circles round two legendary heroic kings called Rambaux and Gondebuef. Since there is no evidence that the Burgundians progressed so far as to annex indigenous Frisian legendary materials,[30] we shall focus on the Frankish narrative sources, and more particularly on the *chansons de geste*.

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[29] On ancient Friesland and the Dark Age Frisian kings, see H. Halbertsma, *Frieslands oudheid: Het rijk van de Friese koningen, opkomst en ondergang*, eds. E. H. P. Cordfunke and H. Sarfatij (Utrecht, 2000). Reservations on Frisian 'kingship' are vented in, e.g.: J. C. Besteman, J. M. Bos, H. A. Heidinga, *Graven naar Friese koningen* (Franeker, 1993), p. 17, and repeated in A. Carmiggelt, *De 'koningsterp' van Wijnaldum: De Friese elite in de vroege middeleeuwen* (Abcoude, 2000), p. 50. On *rex* vs. *dux*, cf. Oosten, 'Ideology' (see n. 3), p. 222. Aldgisl: Eddius Stephanus's *Vita Wilfridi*, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum*, vol. 6 (Hannover/Leipzig, 1913), pp. 163-263, at p. 220. Redbad: Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* 5.10; *Vita Sancti Bonifatii archiepiscopi Moguntini, auctore Willibaldo*, ed. W. Levison, Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum ex Monumentis Germaniae Historicis separatim editi, vol. 57 (Hannover/Leipzig, 1905; repr. 1977); *Vita S. Willibrordi, auctore Thiofrido abbate Epternacensi I: vita prosa*, ed. A. Poncelet, in: *Acta Sanctorum Novembris*, vol. 3, Nov. vii (Brussels, 1910), c. 12, p. 468.

[30] A standard work on Frisian liberty is M. P. van Buijtenen, *De grondslag van de*

*'Rambaux' and 'Gondebuef'*

The historical King Redbad fought two wars with the Franks: the first one with Pippin of Heristal in 689 (which cost him the Frisian territories from the Scheldt to the Zuider Zee), the second with Pippin's son Charles Martel (whom he defeated at Cologne in 716). The victory allowed him to win back and expand his territories, but after Redbad's death in 719, Frisian power rapidly declined and eighteen years after his defeat the great victor of Poitiers, Charles Martel, had his revenge by invading the watery regions of the north and vanquishing the Frisians in 734. The *Grandes Chroniques de France* record Pippin's victory, ignore Redbad's triumph at Cologne (the text speaks of a rebellion by the Frisians *qui sont gent cruel et hardie*), and have Charles Martel invade the Frisian territories, destroy the pagan idols and kill 'Rabode, le duc de Frise'. Details of time and place regarding Redbad would acquire even greater flexibility in the centuries that followed. The Frisians would embrace Christianity and learn to appreciate Frankish rule ever since Charlemagne gave them their liberty. For the remainder of the Middle Ages, Redbad would have a bad press in Frisian circles, though French literary sources would be less condemning.[31]

Frankish historiography will no doubt have caused the historical 'duke' Redbad to surface in the *chansons de geste* although he was anachronistical-

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*Friese vrijheid* (Assen, 1953); cf. also Frisian sources on the legendary hero Magnus in P. Sipma, *Fon alra fresena fridome* (Snits, 1947), and A. Campbell, ed., *Thet Freske Riim / Tractatus Alvini* (The Hague, 1952).

[31] *Les Grandes Chroniques de France*, ed. J. Viard, 10 vols. (Paris, 1920-1953), vol. 2, pp. 211-227. Cf. also the *Historia Regum Francorum ab origine gentis ad annum 1214*, written by a monk at Saint-Germain-des-Prés around 1205 and later translated into French by an anonymous 'menestrel', which records Charles Martel's victory over 'serjans Rainbaut de Frise' and dedicates a few lines to Redbad's refusal to be baptised since that would alienate him from his ancestors. See K. James-Teelucksingh, *Critical Edition of La Chronique d'un Menestrel d'Alphonse de Poitiers as contained in B.N. Fr. 5700: Book I* (Ph.D.-Dissertation, University of Maryland, 1984), pp. 189-195. Halbertsma, *Frieslands oudheid* (see n. 29), pp. 79-94. Halbertsma points out that according to the *Vita Dagoberti*, Dagobert III (Merovingian king from 711-716) invaded Frisia, destroyed the pagan idols and chased Redbad to Denmark. See *Vita Dagoberti III, Regis Francorum*, ed. B. Krusch, in: *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*, vol. 2 (Hannover, 1888), pp. 509-524, at pp. 512, 517. The legend resurfaces in medieval Frisian legal texts: *tha lethogade hi* [i.e. *kining kerl*] *us fon redbate tha deniska kininge and fon there clipskelde and fon there etszena with that her alle frisa and tha hiara halse drogon and fon allere unriuchtere herskipi*. See *Het tweede Rüstringer handschrift*, ed. W. J. Buma, Oudfriese Taal- en Rechtsbronnen 8 ('s-Gravenhage, 1954), II.7, pp. 58-59. The text, extant in a single late eighteenth-century copy goes back on a (now lost) early fourteenth-century manuscript. Redbad is dismissed as a Dane, and the liberator of the Frisians is Charlemagne.

ly displaced and was now almost permanently associated with Charle-
magne. In the twelfth-century *Girart de Roussillon*, Redbad is still the
Frisian king waging war on Charles Martel, but the *Chanson de Roland*
speaks of 'barons de Frise' as Charlemagne's allies. One of these barons is
called Rembalt, and he together with a Flemish nobleman, Hamon de
Galice, fights the emir Baligant. This Raimbaut or Rainbalt (the name has
many variant spellings) continues to fight alongside Charlemagne, marries
his sister Belisem, has a daughter Flandrine, and is slain by Ogier.[32] A fif-

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[32] References to King Redbad in: *Girart de Roussillon*, ed. W. M. Hackett, 3 vols.
(Paris, 1953-1955), vol. 1, pp. 140, 145, vss. 3233, 3342 ('Rabeu le Freis'); *La
chanson de Roland*, ed., transl. J. Bédier (Paris, 1922), p. 232 (vss. 3069, 3073); also
in *Aye d'Avignon*, ed. S. J. Borg (Geneva, 1967), line 361 ('Reinbaut de Frise');
*Renaut de Montauban*, ed. J. Thomas (Geneva, 1989), line 5373 ('Reigbau le Fris');
*La Chevalerie d'Ogier de Danemarche*, ed. M. Eusebi (Milano, 1963), 19 refer-
ences, e.g. lines 7001, 5905 ('dus Rainbaus li Fris', 'le duc Reinbalt de Frise');
*Gaufrey*, eds. F. Guessard and P. Chabaille (Paris, 1859), lines 2551-2552, 2814-
2821 ('le duc Raimbaut le Frison'); *Maugis d'Aigremont*, ed. P. Vernay (Bern,
1980), vss. 4681, 5023 ('Raimbaut le Frison'). According to the late twelfth-century
*Gui de Nanteuil*, 'Ranbaut' was married to a sister of Charlemagne: *Flandine i fu, sa
nece, la proz e la schevie / Fille fu Bellixant, dun Ranbaut fist s'amie*; see *Gui de
Nanteuil*, ed. J. R. McCormack (Geneva, 1970), version V, lines 2046-2047 (p.
279); and also lines 478 ('duc Raimbaut de Frise'), 2582 in version M, and lines
455, 2047 in version V. According to the thirteenth-century *Karlamagnús saga*, a
Norse adaptation, which elaborates on the relation between Reinballd friski – as he
is called – and Hamon, Charlemagne has two sisters: Gelein (or Gilem) and Belisem
(Belisent). Reinballd marries one of them, but two different versions of the saga
disagree on who the bride is. See *Karlamagnús saga. Branches I, III, VII et IX*, ed.
A. Loth (Copenhagen, 1980), pp. 48, 49; there are many references to Reinballd, see
esp. pp. 30-35, 48-51, 54-61. Also: P. Aebischer, *Textes norrois et littérature fran-
çaise du Moyen Âge*, vol. 2: *La première branche de la Karlamagnús saga. Traduc-
tion complète du texte norrois, précédée d'une introduction* (Geneva, 1972), pp.
115-116. Unlike the incidental references in the chansons, the saga contains three
extensive episodes on Reinballd: (1) the friendship between Reinballd and Eim af
Galiz (i.e. Hamon de Galice from the *Chanson de Roland*); (2) the marriage of
Reinballd to one of Charlemagne's sisters; and (3) the duel between Reinballd and
one of Charlemagne's opponents, Varnir af Pirapont. References in later texts:
Philippe Mouskés, *Chronique rimée*, ed. Baron de Reiffenberg, 2 vols. (Bruxelles,
1836-1856), vol. 1, lines 8452-8456 ('Rainbaus, li Fris'); Jean des Preis, dit d'Outre-
meuse, *Ly myreur des histors*, ed. A. Borgnet, 7 vols. (Bruxelles, 1864-1887), vol. 2,
pp. 437-438. See B. N. Sargent, 'Preface', in: *Le Livre du Roy Rambaux*, ed. B.
Nelson Sargent (Chapel Hill, 1967), pp. 22-26; Jongkees speculates that whereas the
'Rabeu' from *Girart de Roussillon* may be the historical Redbad, the Rembalt of the
*chansons* may be a namesake: see A. G. Jongkees, 'Gondebuef de Frise dans les
chansons de geste', in: M. Gosman and J. van Os, eds., *Non Nova, Sed Nove:
Mélanges de civilisation médiévale dédiés à Willem Noomen* (Groningen, 1984), pp.
125-137, at pp. 125-127.

teenth-century *Livre du Roy Rambaux de Frise* – in all likelihood a Bur-
gundian composition – has restored the regal title, but not because the
author had taken Bede to heart, but more likely because of Burgundian
claims and a resilient tradition in French literature of the elusive King Gon-
debald or Gondebuef.[33]

Gondebuef, king of Frisia, first appears (as Gandelbodus) in the *Historia
Karoli Magni et Rotholandi*, a work produced in the twelfth century but
falsely attributed to Charlemagne's friend and counsellor Turpin. Pseudo-
Turpin's work remained authoritative throughout the Middle Ages and was
truthfully copied by Hélinand de Froidmont, Aubri de Trois-Fontaines, Vin-
cent of Beauvais and the authors of the *Grandes Chroniques de France*. A
possible contemporary of Pseudo-Turpin, the Catalan troubadour Guiraud
de Cabreira, speaks of a 'Guondalbon lo Frizon' but it is through Pseudo-
Turpin that North-European readers learned about the Frisian king who
raised an army of 7000 warriors to join Charlemagne in battle and who died
in Roncesvalles with Roland and was buried in Belin. A twelfth-century
guidebook points out his tomb and recommends it to pilgrims.[34] Poetic
liberty allots a different function to Gondebuef. In the *Romans de Ron-
cevaux*, the rhymed versions of the *Chanson de Roland* from the thirteenth
century, the Frisian King Gondrebues or Gondebuef does not take part in
the battle, but captures the traitor Ganelon. This made Philippe Mouskés
assume that there were two Gondebuefs, a father who died in battle, and a
son who took his revenge. In the fifteenth-century *Chroniques et conquestes
de Charlemaine*, David Aubert asserted that the two Gondebuefs were
kings, the one of Frisia, the other of Burgundy.[35] Gondebuef's name was

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[33] The standard works on Gondebald are by A. Jongkees, 'Gondebald, koning van
Friesland', in: Jongkees, *Burgundica et Varia* (see n. 25), pp. 66-93, and Jongkees,
'Gondebuef' (see n. 32), pp. 125-137. See also *Livre du Roy Rambaux* (see n. 32).

[34] *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi ou Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. C.
Meredith-Jones (Paris, 1936); Pseudo-Turpin was translated into French in the thir-
teenth century: R. N. Walpole, *An Anonymous Old French Translation of the
Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle. A Critical Edition of the Text Contained in Bibliothèque
Nationale MSS fr. 2137 and 17203 and Incorporated by Philippe Mouskés in His
Chronique rimée* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979). On possible epic sources of Ps.-Turpin,
see Jongkees, 'Gondebuef' (see n. 32), pp. 129-130, 133 notes 28-30. The text by
Ps.-Turpin was inserted as book 4 into the *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, of which book 5 is
the pilgrim's guide. See *Le Guide du Pèlerin de Saint-Jacques de Compostelle*, ed.
J. Vieillard (Mâcon, [4]1960), p. 80. *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* (see n. 31),
vol. 3, pp. 229 ('Godebues li rois de Frise'), 237 ('Gondrebues, rois de Frise'), 285
('Gondebues li rois de Frise'). The Pseudo-Turpin material was still used by Jehan
Bagnyon who spoke of 'Gandebois, roy de Frise' in his *L'histoire de Charlemagne*,
ed. H.-E. Keller (Geneva, 1992), pp. 28, 188, 214.

[35] Jongkees, 'Gondebuef' (see n. 32), p. 132, n. 14, and 'Gondebald' (see n. 33), p.
70, n. 11, lists the references from *Les textes de la Chanson de Roland*, ed. R. Mor-

widely known in Europe, from the North to the South.[36] Finally imagination took complete hold of Gondebuef and he was made an archbishop, a martyred saint and he was identified as the father of Prester John, the legendary emperor of India.[37]

In the northern Low Countries, Gondebald was mainly known through Pseudo-Turpin. Jacob van Maerlant's King 'Gondebant' derives from Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* and through the *Speculum* from Pseudo-Turpin. This is also the source for 'Gondebloet, coninck van Vrieslant' in the world-chronicle of the herald Beyeren from around 1400. Interest in Frisian kingship in Holland seems to manifest itself only in the course of the fifteenth century and therefore coincides with the Burgundian claims, and it is very likely that the former was caused – or if it lay dormant, brought to life again – by the latter. Among the Dutch nobility it was especially the lords of Brederode and Egmond who took pride in their

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tier, 10 vols. (Paris, 1940-1944); Philippe Mouskés, *Chronique rimée* (see n. 32), vol. 1, vvs. 7366, 8120, 8654, 9036 ('Gondelbues, li rois de Frise'), 9451; David Aubert, *Chroniques et conquestes de Charlemaine*, ed. R. Guiette (Bruxelles, 1940-1951), vol. 1: 239, vol. 2.1: 189, 205f., vol. 2.2: 73, 206-223. Other *chansons* have Charlemagne's counsellor Gandelbuon or Gondebuef participate in the battle, but he survives severely injured, and dies at the feet of the emperor. Even his nationality varies from Flemish, to German, to Breton, to African. See *Galïens li Restorés*, ed. E. Stengel (Marburg, 1890), vvs. 134-143; M. Roques, ed., '*Ronsasvals*; poème épique provençal', in: *Romania* 58 (1932), vvs. 161ff., 359, 544, 1099, 1166; *Aymeri de Narbonne*, ed. L. Demaison, 2 vols. (Paris, 1887, repr. 1968), vs. 473 ('Gondebuef l'Alemant); *L'entrée d'Espagne*, ed. A. Thomas, 2 vols. (Paris, 1913), vol. 1, vvs. 335, 4502, 7217, etc. (18 references); *La Chanson d'Aspremont*, ed. L. Brandin, 2 vols. (Paris, 1919-1921), vol. 1, vss. 915, 920, 926, 934, 2898, 3196, 3202 ('Rois Gondelbues'), 4329, 7769; *Renaut de Montauban*, ed. J. Thomas (Geneva, 1989), vss. 66, 1705, 5507; *Lion de Bourges*, eds. W. W. Kibler, J.-L. G. Picherit, T. S. Fenster, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1980), vs. 22041. According to Jean Bodel's *Chanson des Saisnes*, ed. A. Brasseur, 2 vols. (Geneva, 1989), version LT, vss. 4324, 4381 ('Gondebués qi Borgoigne maistrie'), 4390, 4914, 5181, 5185, 5203, Gondebuef was king of Burgundy, which accords with the Burgundian King Gondebaud (from the *Vita Gerardi comitis*) who died in 516. Jehan Bagnyon copies the narrative of King Gondobondus from Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum historiale* 21.4-5 and Gregory of Tours's *Histories* (2.28-29). See his *L'histoire de Charlemagne* (see n. 34), pp. 4-7. See also Jongkees, 'Gondebald' (see n. 33), pp. 66-73, for Gondebuef-variants.

[36] He was called 'Gundilber, Frísa konungr', in: *Karlamagnús Saga ok Kappa hans*, ed. C. R. Unger (Christiana, 1860), vvs. 139, 177, 224, 255, 272-273, 335; and 'Gottebuffo re di Frigia' in Andrea de Barberino, *I Reali di Francia*, eds. G. Vandelli and G. Gambarin (Bari, 1947), vss. 535, 551.

[37] Jean d'Outremeuse, *Ly myreur des histors* (see n. 32), vol. 3, pp. 52, 66, 121-122, 137, 140-143, 152, 199. According to Jean d'Outremeuse (1338-1400) of Liège, Gondebuef was buried in Denmark. He is made the uncle of Ogier the Dane who crowned Gondebuef's son John emperor of India. This latter invention Jean d'Outremeuse may have derived from the *Travels* of his fellow townsman John Mandeville.

Frisian royal ancestry. Gondebald received a place in their genealogy and was made the son of Aldgisl and the grandson of Redbad. The fictitious Frisian royal family tree would grow and hold ten names by the end of the fifteenth century and sixteen by the end of the sixteenth. Historiography in the north would take a flight of fancy resulting among others in the notorious chronicle of Ocko Scharlensis (1597). All these historical fictions incurred serious criticism in the course of time, but for the present chapter it suffices to mention Robert Gauguin's unmasking of the *Historia Turpini* (1495).[38]

Naturally, it is not unlikely that Frisians fought with Charlemagne in his battles and distinguished themselves through bravery, loyalty or whatever other characteristic, and thus secured for themselves a modest but distinct place in the realm of medieval poetry and legend.[39] The 'Raimbaud' and

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[38] Jacob van Maerlant, *Spiegel Historiael*, ed. P. Utenbroeke, vol. 3 (Leiden, 1863; repr. 1982), pp. 191, 198, 203; Beyeren's chronicle: The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms. 128 E 10, fol. 77; *Cronica de Hollant*, ed. A. Matthaeus (The Hague, ²1738), 529; Johannis a Leydis, *Chronicon comitum Hollandiae*, ed. F. Sweertius (Frankfurt, 1620), pp. 69, 72, 74, 113; *idem, Croniken der heeren van Brederode*, ed. A. Matthaeus (The Hague, ²1738), p. 609. John of Leyden's chronicle went into *Die cronycke van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Vrieslant* (Leyden, 1517), the so-called 'Divisiekroniek', used, for instance, by Worp of Thabor when he makes the historical Redbad the father of 'Aldigillus', who in turn is the father of *Gondebald rex Frisiae, qui cum fortissimo Rolando in Roncevallo interfectus est, et Radbodus* ['Redbad II'] *dominus inferioris seu occidentalis Frisiae, a quo orti dicuntur domini Egmondenses.* Worperi Tyaerda ex Renismageest, prioris in Thabor, *Chronicorum Frisiae libri tres* (Leeuwarden, 1847), II.28, p. 91. Critics of the historical fictions include Janus Dousa, Petrus Scriverius and Ubbo Emmius. On the later career of Gondebald (after 1500), see Jongkees, 'Gondebald' (see n. 33), pp. 74-93.

[39] Jongkees, 'Gondebuef' (see n. 32), p. 126, mentions other belligerent Frisian kings with names such as Gaufroy, Galesis, Hugon de Vauvenisse or Lohout, all of whom are fictional. See esp. Jehan Bodel's *Chanson des Saisnes* which holds no less than twenty-four references to 'li rois Lohous de Frise' and his wife Queen Rissendine: *Chanson de Saisnes* (see n. 35), vol. 1, vss. 552, 1246, 1509, 1773, 1779, 1783, 1785 1806, 1826, etc. See also: *Li Romans de Baudouin de Sebourc, poème du XIVe siècle*, ed. L. N. Boca (Valenciennes, 1841); *Aubri de Bourgoing*, ed. A. Tobler (Leipzig, 1870), 106; *Hugues Capet*, ed. N. Laborderie (Paris, 1997), vss. 298-306 ('roy Hugon de Vauvenisse' 'a Utrecht' in 'le païs de Frisse'), etc.; *Hervis de Mes*, ed. J.-C. Herbin (Geneva, 1992), vss. 6007, 6282, 6522 *et passim* (all references to an unidentified 'roi de Frise'). Frisians also appear in Dante's *Commedia*, not as kings but as units of measure to estimate the length of Nimrod, one of the giants around the edge of Cocytus, the pit of the traitors (*Inferno* 31.64: *tre Frison*). Nimrod blows a horn which Dante likens to the horn blown by Roland who perished at Roncesvalles through the treason of Ganelon (*Inferno* 31.17-18; *Chanson de Roland* vss. 1753-1767). Possibly Frisian loyalty to Charlemagne made their renowned length a more than fitting instrument to measure the size of the infernal giants. This passage is the only instance of Frisians being thrown in for good measure. On

'Gondebuef' of the *chansons* are fictional as well as marginal. Speculations have been raised regarding the possibility of there having been a (now lost) epic on Raimbaud and the Frisian war from before 1100,[40] but the only surviving fictional text dedicated to a Frisian ruler is the *Livre du Roy Rambaux de Frise*, a composition surviving in a sole copy and presumably dating from the third quarter of the fifteenth century. It is not a grand composition, and its only remarkable feature seems to be a curious eye for geographical detail as it tries to draw a map of Frisia. The manuscript is a luxury copy, probably produced for Pierre de Beaujeu, a nephew of Philip the Good and from 1488 duke of Bourbon. Jongkees drew attention to the 'Burgundian flavour of the text'.[41]

*Le livre du roy Rambaux de Frise et du roy Brunor de Dampnemarche*, as it is called in full, tells the story of the Frisian King Rambaux and his daughter Florissant (perhaps an echo of Flandrine in *Gui de Nanteuil*). Brunor, the king of Denmark, wants to marry Florissant by force and invades Frisia. Rambaux is old and unfit for battle, but the Spanish knight Othon steps forward and becomes Rambaux's champion. His army crushes the invading Danes and Othon kills Brunor in single combat. Florissant and Othon fall in love and after due deliberation, Rambaux and his council agree that they be married and that Othon is made heir to the throne. Due to his ill health Rambaux contemplates abdication in favour of Othon, but the Frisians are much agitated over this and Othon refuses. Rambaux recovers, spends a year doing charities and then dies. Othon is crowned king, tours his new lands and reigns for thirty-five peaceful and prosperous years. It is quite tempting to read the story as a parable of Burgundian claims on the Frisian crown. Othon's refusal to succeed to the throne while Rambaux is still alive, demonstrates that he is not a usurper.

The story contains a few interesting details on the geography of the Frisian lands. In the first place, Frisia borders on Denmark;[42] it is described

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Frisians' *statura gygantaea*, cf. *Chronique de Jean Brandon*, in: *Chroniques relatives à l'Histoire de la Belgique* (see n. 28), p. 52, and *L'entrée d'Espagne* (see n. 35), vol. 1, vss. 6791-6792.

[40] P. Aebischer, 'Raimbaud et Hamon: une source perdue de la Chanson de Roland', in: *Le Moyen Âge* 63 (1957), pp. 27-29; G. Paris, *Histoire poétique du Charlemagne* (Paris, 1865), p. 293; *Livre du Roy Rambaux* (see n. 32), pp. 26-27.

[41] The manuscript is Arsenal ms. 3150. The text was edited by B. N. Sargent, *Livre du Roy Rambaux* (see n. 32). Attributions were made on the basis of the coat of arms.

[42] In the *Karlamagnús saga* (see n. 32) the domain given to Reinballd by Charlemagne extends from Flanders to Denmark: *Siþan Gipti hann Belisem systur sina Reinalldi friska med miklv riki ok eignum þuiat þav skilldv eignast avll þau riki sem Tankemar ok Tanir brodir hand hofdv att ok iiii jarlldoma med ollv rikinv ok allt Lingerafn. En þetta riki var allt af Flaemingia landi til Danmerkr* (I.B.25, pp. 49, 51).

as a large realm, *car il y a plusieurs ysles et maintes bonnes et grosses villes et fors chasteaulx. Et avec ce il y a ung groz bracz de mer entre le royaulme de Dampnemarche et cely de Frise.* There is an isle in this sea-arm encompassed by the rivers Wolt and Onzaauch, and on the island there is a city called Zolstz. The capital of Frisia is called Fristen.

> *Et est la dicte ville la plus merchande du pays, car elle est situee entre la haulte Frise et la basse. Et en y a moult d'autres grandz villes merchandes que correspondent a elle, dont la premiere est nommee Grumighen, la secunde Swolle, la tierce Campen, la quarte Davanteer. Et toutes ces villez sont merchandes et ornees de rivieres, [et] (qui) sont descendans devers Horlande et Zierlande et devers la mer.*[43]

The geographical contours of Rambaux's Frisia seem to concur with those of the medieval Frisian lands encompassing Friesland, Groningen, the lands north of the river IJssel (including the towns Kampen, Zwolle and Deventer), and East Frisia possibly stretching towards Danmark. The capital Fristen (*qu'on appelle Frise en françois*) seems an invention of the author, and the city Zolstz on the island in the sea-arm between Frisia and Denmark is highly elusive.[44] If this interpretation is correct, the text echoes Philip the Good's claim on a greater Frisia, including the 'pays de Uustfrise'.

It is certain that the Burgundian dukes knew about the Frisian kings from the *chansons* and the *romans* since a fair number of these texts were present in their library.[45] After the death of Charles the Bold, Olivier de La

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[43] *Livre du Roy Rambaux* (see n. 32), p. 52, lines 60-62 (fol. 5v); pp. 53-54, lines 120-129 (fol. 8v-9r); p. 87, lines 1095-1107 (fol. 1). This latter section is on the first folio of the manuscript and was placed at the very end of the text by the editor, who suggests it may have been meant as an insertion. It is nevertheless striking that the geography of this 'insertion' is more accurate than that of the other sections.

[44] Along the North Sea coastline from Denmark to Holland there are three sea-arms which could be imagined to correspond to the description in *Rambaux*: (1) the Jade-Busen; (2) the Eems and Dollard; and (3) the Lauwers. Of these the first seems the most likely since it is closest to Denmark and one can identify two rivers: Weser and Jade, although the names do not correspond to Wolt and Onzaauch. Could Onzaauch be Hunze or Hunzingo? This would favour the third option (in which case Zolstz could be Soltscamp?) but it would undermine the idea that the text refers to 'Ostfriesland'. It should be borne in mind that people in the fifteenth century had only a very fragmentary notion of the geography of these northern regions, as a charming map from 1491 shows (a map by Nicolaus Cusanus, printed in Eichstädt in 1491, reproduced in A. W. Lang, *Kleine Kartengeschichte Frieslands zwischen Ems und Jade* (Norden, 1995), p. 14).

[45] Doutrepont mentions several: *Ogier le Danoys*, the prose version of *Renaud de Montauban*, the *Chanson de Saisnes*, *L'entrée de Espagne*, *Aimerie de Narbonne*, *Girard de Roussillon*, *Aspremont*, *Auberi de Bourgoing*, *Baudouin de Sebourc*, and

Marche[46] would refer to Redbad and Gundebaud as *duces* but his references to Redbad's battle with Pippin and Gundebaud's alliance with Charlemagne clearly show his familiarity with the *Grandes Chroniques* and Pseudo-Turpin. Even though the materials regarding legendary Frisian kingship were fragmentary, Burgundian intellectuals were certainly aware of them, and the *Livre du roy Rambaux de Frise* seems to be first consistent attempt to synthesize the fragments into a comprehensive narrative that – next to Burgundian geographical claims – also echoes the Burgundian justificatory narrative of the valiant champion and defender of a throne, who through his bravery merits the royal title. The *Livre du roy Rambaux* is a fictional narrative that, in a way, is the natural outcome of the study and elaboration of a host of smaller accommodating narratives about Frisian kingship, Frisian liberty and Frisian allegiance to Charlemagne. This modest prose romance is the literary counterpart of the two abortive military attempts to annex the Frisian lands.

*Conclusion*

In 1460, ambassadors from Eastern Europe would greet Philip the Good as 'Roi de Jerusalem et de Frise'. By using this title they would not only pay homage to the regal pretensions of Burgundy but also acknowledge the legitimacy of a plea made by Jean Germain in 1433 at the Council of Basel and repeated by Jean Jouffroy before Pope Nicholas V in 1448 stating the conditions for the acquisition of a throne.[47] These formal addresses of two of Burgundy's top intellectuals made it clear to the world how serious Philip the Good was in furthering Burgundian autonomy and self-determination. The regal claims had progressed naturally from an ideology of self-justification, initiated by John the Fearless, and codified in a group of literary texts that set the tone for a self-assertive re-reading and re-writing of literary and historical materials.

Burgundy's crowning effort to secure a throne was undertaken by Charles the Bold at the Trier conference in 1473, where he gave an exuberant demonstration of the wealth and splendour of his court. Charles's meet-

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also a translated *Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin*. See Doutrepont, *La littérature française* (see n. 10), pp. 9, 15, 20, 50, 65, 83-84, 406, 483 (see index).

[46] *Chronique d'Adrien de But* (see n. 28), p. 554: *Post Rabodum vero Gundebaudus dux effectus, cum Karolo Magno rege Francorum pugnasse legitur; post quem pauci reperiuntur assumpsisse dominium super Frisones Sclavos; sed Frisones boreales plures reges habuere, inter quos Canutus, sanctus rex Dachorum ...*

[47] Vanderjagt, *'Qui sa vertu anoblist'* (see n. 15), p. 29: *La maniere de couronner et créer de nouvel roy en nouveau royaume. Le prince doncques qui se veult faire de nouvel roy doit avoir quatre duchiez tenans l'une a l'autre ou quatre contez pour une duchié et qu'elles ne soyent tenues de homme que de luy ...*

ing with Emperor Frederick III took place at a time when Burgundy was more than ever a force to be reckoned with in Europe. Its newly composed army lead by expert Italian captains was a real threat to Louis XI of France, from whom Charles would be further alienated (as is borne out by the 1474 Treaty of London), and even to Frederick, since rumour had it that the duke's ambition to obtain a throne would not exclude the use of force. Richard Vaughan[48] provides an engaging description of what went on during the Trier meeting, how Charles wanted to be crowned king of the Romans and offered the hand of his daughter Mary in marriage to Frederick's son Maximilian in return for the promise that he, Charles, succeed to the imperial throne; how Frederick kept on postponing his decision and finally granted Charles a territorial kingdom, the 'kingdom of Burgundy' or according to others who were less well-informed, the 'kingdom of Frisia'; how preparations for a solemn coronation, including the fabrication of the crown, the sceptre and the costumes for the new king, had progressed so far that in anticipation of the official institution of the new king and his realm on 21 November 1473 in the cathedral of Trier, Charles was already referred to as the 'Lord King of Burgundy'; how finally, at the very last moment, the whole show was called off and how the emperor made his speedy retreat down the Rhine. The reasons for the cancellation remain obscure. Burgundy's power may have frightened off the relatively powerless emperor, but also Charles's frustration over being granted *only* a territorial kingdom may have occasioned indecisiveness on his part, a kind of fickleness even, that made him change his plans constantly – much to the annoyance of the emperor. Personal motives certainly played a part in the failure of the Trier conference, but this curious narrative drama should not distract our attention from the fact that the Trier meeting and its extensive preparations for a coronation ceremony were in a way the logical outcome of a long process of king-making. A territorial kingdom may have frustrated Charles's overzealous imperial ambitions, but it was nevertheless the main objective of Burgundy's ideological program that saw to the production of theoretical, rhetorical, but also literary texts (such as the *Chronique des royz*[49] and the *Livre du Roy Rambaux*) to draw the anticipatory contours of a future kingdom. Frederick's concession of a territorial kingdom might have meant a blow to Charles's highest ambition, but it was nevertheless a triumph of Burgundian ideology, which would have derived not only recognition but also an incentive for further development from this imperial decision.

The ideology of Burgundy whose nature and creation have been described in this essay, was a necessary foundation for the realisation of the

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[48] See Vaughan, *Charles the Bold* (see n. 6), pp. 144-155, and also Graeme Small's contribution in the present volume, at pp. 174-176.

[49] The *Chronique* is discussed extensively by G. Small in the present volume.

Burgundian state, but its acceptance ultimately depended on the establishment of the kind of state it sought to justify. The failure of the Valois dukes to achieve a royal dignity or to establish on the European stage a stable state comparable to a kingdom caused the 'national' mythology of their state and its theoretical legitimisation to remain fragmentary and embryonic. Its Troy legend and the Golden Fleece made a lasting impression and were definitely the strongest assets of Burgundian mythology; the latter, indeed, has continued to play something of its original function down to the present day, albeit in lands far removed from those of its founder. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to recognize and appreciate these assets in isolation from the other elements of the Burgundian attempt to justify itself. In the national mythology that Burgundy developed in order to establish its own identity, there is a consistent and continuous interaction between its audacious acts of self-justification and its attempts to acquire a throne. Among the various materials that are contained in the vast Burgundian library and archival remains, I have selected a few that illustrate most strikingly this interaction.[50]

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[50] The author wishes to thank Arjo Vanderjagt and Jonathan Boulton for their suggestions and corrections.

# SEVENTEEN

## THE MULTIPLICITY OF A UNITY IN THE LOW COUNTRIES[1]

### Robert Stein

> *This was ridiculous. Many of the guests ... were insulted,*
> *feeling sure they had only been asked to fill up the re-*
> *quired number.* J. R. R. Tolkien, *The Lord of the Rings*

In a recent article, the English historian Alastair Duke remarked with regard
to the nomenclature for the Low Countries: 'Instead of a single specific
name for the country or its inhabitants, there was a surfeit of descriptions.
By the 1560s anyone wishing to refer to the Low Countries was apparently
spoilt for choice, for the eight basic options might be supplemented by com-
bining names'.[2] This circumstance seems to mirror the elusive character of
the Netherlands. After all, the Low Countries can only to a certain extent be
considered a political unity from the middle of the fifteenth century on-
wards, and still, even in early modern times, the constituent parts remained
more important than the whole. It is therefore not surprising that there
existed no generally accepted name for this remote territory, situated on the
frontier of the Holy Roman Empire and France. Often the lands were des-
ignated on the basis of the most important principalities – Flanders, Brabant
or Holland – or the name of the dynasty, Burgundy. For want of a proper
name, some people employed the old names, some of which date back to
Roman times,[3] like *Germania inferior, Belgica, Austrasia* and (Lower-)

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[2] A. Duke, 'The Elusive Netherlands. The Question of National Identity in the Early
Modern Low Countries on the Eve of the Revolt', in: *Bijdragen en mededelingen
betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 119 (2004), pp. 10-38.
[3] See the abundant information in Duke's 'The Elusive Netherlands' (see n. 2).

Lotharingia. Only gradually did a more or less generally accepted nomen-
clature come into use, either in the plural form – *Nederlanden, Pays-Bas* or
Low Countries – or in the singular form: *Nederland* or *België*.[4] The prefix
"Neder" indicates that these lands were situated downstream the Rhine in
relation to *Oberland*, with Cologne as the dividing point.

From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, the mosaic nature of
the Low Countries is often emphasised by the use of the cardinal number
seventeen in relation to the multitude of principalities, lordships and towns.
The Low Countries could be designated as the Seventeen Provinces, some-
times as the Seventeen Netherlands.

Seventeen. There can hardly be a number that is more hotly debated by
Dutch and Belgian historians than seventeen. Famous scholars like Robert
Fruin and Henri Pirenne have racked their brains about the question of
which principalities were actually indicated by that number. More than a
century ago, Robert Fruin remarked: 'It is common knowledge, that the
state of the Low Countries, a short time before it was torn apart by the
Revolt against Spain, consisted of seventeen provinces. The identification
of these seventeen, however, is not at all clear'.[5] Fruin's remark is cat-
egorical; although many suggestions have been put forward (among others
by Fruin himself), the matter still remains unsettled. What is more, it
touches the heart of the identity of the Low Countries and its successor-
states, the Netherlands and Belgium, and it is no coincidence that this
question was raised in the nationalistic period of the late nineteenth century.

In this contribution, I will deal with the various ways in which the num-
ber seventeen was applied to the Low Countries. It will be necessary to say
a few words on the political history of the geographic space in which the
Low Countries developed. My discussion of the number seventeen itself
will take the second half of the sixteenth century as its point of departure,
when the combination of Seventeen and the Low Countries referred to a
more or less consistent series of seventeen principalities. From there I will

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[4] H. de Schepper, *'Belgium nostrum' 1500-1650. Over integratie en desintegratie van
het Nederland*, Cahier 5 (Antwerp, 1987); K. Meisen, 'Niederland und Oberland', in:
*Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 15/16 (1950-1951), pp. 417-464; J. Huizinga, 'Uit de
voorgeschiedenis van ons nationaal besef', in: J. Huizinga, *Verzamelde werken*, vol.
2 (Haarlem, 1948), pp. 127-128. In the same volume (pp. 161-237), there is a variant
version of this article in French, entitled: 'État bourguignon, ses rapports avec la France,
et les origines d'une nationalité néerlandaise'. Cf. the general overview in: P. Janssen *et
al.*, 'De wereld van de Lage Landen. Het verhaal van een naam', in: H. Balthazar *et al.*,
*De gouden delta der Lage Landen. Twintig eeuwen beschaving tussen Seine en Rijn*
(Antwerp, 1996), pp. 9-15.
[5] R. Fruin, 'De zeventien provinciën en haar vertegenwoordiging in de Staten-Gene-
raal', in: Fruin, *Verspreide geschriften* IX, 2 (The Hague, 1904), p. 1. The article
was originally published in 1893.

trace its origins back to Burgundian times and beyond. An interpretation of the use of this number will be given in the last paragraphs.

I should say a few words about the sources for this research. The search for relevant material is made difficult by the extensive use of 'seventeen' in far from significant contexts, as any reader may experience when using an internet search-engine. In general, my research was aimed at its use in a political context: the combination of this number with (symbols of) principalities, like coats of arms. Many of the sources have been used in – or are the expression of – presentations in a public context. Furthermore, I have looked at the descriptions of important public events, like ceremonial entries. Finally, I used a few (folk) songs and small poems. It is inevitable, however, that the number seventeen will be found in a significant context in other sources which I have overlooked.

*Political Context*

In the central Middle Ages the outlines of the Low Countries became visible for the first time. The duchy of Lower Lotharingia was formed on the basis of the many partitions of the Carolingian Empire in the ninth and tenth centuries. It stretched from the river Rhine to the river Scheldt, and some claimed that it was bounded by a small stream, the Vinxtbach in the south and by the North Sea in the north. Others assumed that the river Rhine not only formed the eastern, but also the northern frontier. North of the river Rhine was situated an uncontrollable and therefore more or less independent province called Friesland. Since the river Scheldt also formed the frontier between the German Empire and France, Lower Lotharingia was subjected to the emperor. The county of Flanders, on the other hand, which we consider to be an integral part of the Low Countries, was for the greater part situated west of the river Scheldt. It did not belong to Lower Lotharingia or the German Empire, but was subjected to the king of France. The existence of this principality did not halt the fragmentation of the territory that later became known as the Low Countries. In an ongoing process of disintegration, time and again new dynastic states arose, that claimed an independent status *vis à vis* the duke of Lower Lotharingia, and principalities like Brabant, Holland, Zeeland, Hainault and others became the main political forces. In 1190, at the diet of Schwäbisch Hall, the duchy of Lower Lotharingia was formally dismantled in a political sense, even though the title retained a strong ideological force for centuries to come.

Another force gradually reversed the disintegration of the Low Countries. Time and again personal unions were formed[6] by the dynasties of the principalities, most of them to be dissolved after a few decades. In the

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[6]  A. Uyttebrouck, 'Phénomènes de centralisation dans les Pays-Bas avant Philippe le Bon', in: *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire* 69 (1991), pp. 872-904.

second half of the fourteenth century, however, the dukes of Burgundy
managed to compose a more lasting structure. The Burgundian dynasty was
a younger branch of the French royal house of Valois. The Valois *Haus-
macht*, as it were, was situated in Burgundy: the duchy in the east of France
and the neighbouring county palatine with the same name (often called the
Franche-Comté) in the Holy Roman Empire. From 1384 onwards, this
house managed to get a foothold in the Low Countries, first in the counties
of Flanders and Artois, then in Namur, Holland, Zeeland, Hainault, Brabant,
Limbourg, and Luxembourg successively. From the moment Philip the Bold
(1363-1404) succeeded his father-in-law Louis of Male as count of Flanders
and Artois in 1384, the possessions of the Burgundian dynasty were divided
into a northern and a southern part, the latter being formed by the duchy of
Burgundy, the county palatine of Burgundy and the lordship of Salins.

The mosaic character of their possessions and their divergent origins is
indicated by the fact that the Burgundian and Habsburg houses used a great
number of titles. In 1477, when she issued the great charter, Mary of Bur-
gundy (1477-1482) called herself for instance:

> *Marie, bi der gracie Gods hertoghinne van Bourgoignen, van Lothringen, van
> Brabant, van Lymborch, van Lucemborch ende van Gheldere, graefnede van
> Vlaenderen, van Artois, van Bourgoignen palatine, van Henegauwe, van Hol-
> lant, van Zeelant, van Namen ende van Zuytphen, marcgraefnede des Helichs
> Rijcx, vrauwe van Vieslant, van Salins ende van Mechelen.*[7]

> (Mary, by the grace of God duchess of Burgundy, Lotharingia, Brabant, Lim-
> bourg, Luxembourg and Guelders, countess of Flanders, Artois, countess pala-
> tine of Burgundy, [countess of] Hainault, Holland, Zeeland, Namur and Zut-
> phen, margravine of the Holy Empire, lady of Friesland, Salins and Malines.)

Most titles that Mary of Burgundy used in the charter, referred to existing
political-territorial counties, duchies or lordships. A few of them deserve an
explanation. First I should stress that the titles refer to what can be called
the 'Burgundian inheritance' and not to the Low Countries as such. Hence,
the southern lands – the duchy and county of Burgundy, the lordship of
Salins – are still named. Secondly, the ducal title of Lotharingia (or Lothier)
no longer referred to an existing principality, but was linked to the dignities
of duke of Brabant and Limbourg. When Philip the Good acquired Brabant
in 1430, the States demanded that he should not only use the titles of Bra-
bant and Limbourg, but also that of Lotharingia, which used to be carried by
the Brabant dukes for more than three centuries. The margraviate or mar-
quisate of the Holy Roman Empire (or of Antwerp) was also associated

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[7] M.-A. Arnould, 'Les lendemains de Nancy dans les "Pays de par deça" (Janvier-
Avril 1477)', in: W. P. Blockmans, ed., *Marie de Bourgogne 1477*, Anciens pays et
assemblées d'états 80 (Kortrijk-Heule, 1985), pp. 1-95, here p. 88.

with the Brabantine title. It was erected in 1008 by Emperor Henry II, and in the early twelfth century was joined with the duchy of Brabant. In the late Middle Ages, this margraviate was in a political sense wholly integrated in Brabant, even though the town of Antwerp and its surroundings had been joined with Flanders for nearly half a century (1357-1404).[8] Finally, the title 'lady of Friesland' was linked to the comital dignity of Holland. Philip the Good had acquired the claim to Friesland together with Holland and Zeeland in 1433. Though the Burgundian house had no actual political power in this extended region, it used this title quite often in its quarrels with the emperor. In the middle of the fifteenth century the tradition of an obscure former kingdom of Friesland was revived because of a possible re-establishment of the Burgundian realm in a kingdom of that name; the Burgundian dukes or their successors, however, never used the title 'king' of Friesland.[9]

Even though Mary used the titles of Guelders, Zutphen and Friesland, these territories were at most briefly – and in the case of Friesland not at all – subjected to Burgundian power. It was only during the reign of Charles V, in the period between 1521 and 1543, that the house of Habsburg managed to acquire these and the other remaining parts of the Low Countries. In these years, the titles of the principalities of Tournai, Utrecht, Overijssel, and Groningen were added, and those of Guelders, Zutphen and Friesland were finally substantiated.[10] In the meantime, however, the Habsburg arch-dukes of Austria had succeeded the Valois dukes of Burgundy as lords of all of these lands. They had added to the Austrian and Burgundian inheritances those of the kings of Castile and of Aragon and Sicily, including many more lands and titles. Among these was that of emperor, held by Charles, I of Spain, II of Burgundy, and V of the Empire, from 1519 to his resignation in 1555, and the transfer of the Netherlands to his son Philip, V of Burgundy and II of Spain. It was under Charles that the political union of the Low

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[8] Cf. A. Uyttebrouck, *Le gouvernement du duché de Brabant au bas Moyen-Âge (1355-1430)*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1975), vol. 1, p. 19; R. van Uytven, 'De hertog (11de eeuw-1430)', in: R. van Uytven, Cl. Bruneel, H. Coppens and B. Augustyn, eds., *De gewestelijke en lokale overheidsinstellingen in Brabant en Mechelen tot 1795* (Brussels, 2000), pp. 35-50.

[9] A. G. Jongkees, *Het koninkrijk Friesland in de vijftiende eeuw* (Groningen/Batavia, 1946), reprinted in: Jongkees, *Burgundica et Varia: Keuze uit de verspreide opstellen* (Hilversum, 1990), pp. 27-47; F. J. van Ettro, 'De Bourgondische oorsprong van enige provinciewapens in Nederland en België', in: *Archief van het Koninklijk Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen* (1979), p. 127. Cf. N. E. Algra, *Zeventien keuren en vierentwintig landrechten* (Utrecht, 1991), pp. 237-279. Cf. also the contributions by Small and Veenstra in the present volume.

[10] W. Janssen, 'De geschiedenis van Gelre tot het Tractaat van Venlo in 1543 – een overzicht', in: J. Stinner and K.-H. Tekath, eds., *Het hertogdom Gelre. Geschiedenis, kunst en cultuur tussen Maas, Rijn en IJssel* (Zutphen, 2003), pp. 19-20.

Countries and the county palatine of Burgundy, called the *Burgundische Kreits*, was formalised in the years 1547-1549. Soon after its erection, however, in the 1580s, the Low Countries were split up again into a southern part (the Spanish, later Austrian Netherlands and from 1830 Belgium) and a northern part (the Dutch Republic, since 1814/1830 the kingdom of the Netherlands), due to the Dutch Revolt and the Spanish recapture of large parts of the territory.

When they split up again in the 1580s, the Low Countries as a whole had formed a single political entity only for the short period of a few decades, and except for the political-institutional arrangement of the *Kreits* during these years, the Netherlands can hardly be considered to have enjoyed a unity of any sort. From a territorial point of view, indeed, the independent princely bishopric of Liège continued to drive a wedge between the eastern duchies of Limbourg and Luxembourg and the other provinces of the Low Countries, and it was not until the late eighteenth century that they were fully integrated. Furthermore the territory was divided by cultural and linguistic frontiers and, perhaps more importantly, the western parts – the provinces of Brabant, Flanders, Holland, Zeeland and to a lesser extent Hainault – belonged to the most urbanised regions of western Europe, whereas the eastern parts maintained an almost entirely agricultural and feudal character. Furthermore, there was another, often competing power at work, closely related to the urbanised character of the western parts of the Low Countries. Since the princes were more and more dependant on the financial power of the towns, the Estates of the principalities grew steadily in influence from the fourteenth century onwards. In the last decades of the fifteenth century, the provincial Estates were now and then united into a 'States General', which had a growing influence on the political affairs, due to the princes' continuous need for money.[11] It was this States General that became a force of its own when it declared itself independent from the Habsburg dynasty. We should remember, however, that even if there existed an overarching political structure, the Low Countries had best be considered a federation of principalities that were to a great extent autonomous.[12]

## The Seventeen Low Countries in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century

The meaning and relevance of the number seventeen in relation to the Low Countries in the second half of the sixteenth century has often been discussed in the past: what notion was expressed in it? Did the number refer to

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[11] H. G. Koenigsberger. *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments. The Netherlands in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 86-92.
[12] For an overview: J. I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477-1806* (Oxford, 1995).

the feudal titles of the Burgundian dukes and their Habsburg successors, or
to the number of principalities that participated in the political discourse of
the Low Countries? What seems to be a simple question proves to be very
complex, because the different entities that make up the number seventeen
are of an extremely diverse character. By joining territories (Guelders and
Zutphen for instance), dividing some of them (Brabant and Antwerp), or
simply omitting some (Lotharingia), one can reach any desired number.
This puzzle has fascinated many historians. All of them, however, seem to
agree on at least fifteen of the seventeen names. The hard core is formed by
the duchies of Brabant, Limbourg, Luxembourg and Guelders, the counties
of Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Holland, Zeeland, Namur and the seigniories
of Utrecht, Overijssel, Friesland, Malines and Groningen. But how to fill in
the other two? Are Guelders and Zutphen one or two principalities? What is
the status of Tournai and of Lille and its surroundings?

Historians have looked for an answer in two different directions. Some,
like Wagenaar, Van der Essen and Van Ettro have argued that the feudal
titles of the princes should be the starting point (see Table I). Others, like
Fruin, Blok and Doeleman, take the number of political entities as a basic
principle: which principalities sent their representatives to the assemblies of
the States General? The ceremony of the succession of Philip II to Charles
V in 1555 is taken as the most relevant assembly. Strongly related to the last
point of view is the question whether, and to what extent, the different prin-
cipalities possessed some sort of self-determination – in other words,
whether they positioned themselves as more or less independent states.
Henri Pirenne argues that, if we take this as a starting point, we should not
distinguish seventeen, but eighteen different principalities, an approach that
was shared by Hugo de Schepper, who considered the juridical sovereignty
of the entities the key element, and in applying this argument he reached the
number of nineteen.[13]

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[13] J. Wagenaar, *Vaderlandsche historie, vervattende de geschiedenissen der nu ver-
eenigde Nederlanden, inzonderheid die van Holland*, vol. 5 (Amsterdam, 1752), p.
256-257; R. Fruin, 'De zeventien provinciën' (see n. 5), pp. 1-28; P. J. Blok and A.
A. Beekman, *De geschiedkundige atlas van Nederland*, vol. 8 (The Hague, 1917);
A. van der Essen, 'Quelles étaient les « dix-sept provinces » des Pays-Bas', in: L.
van der Essen, ed., *Deux mille ans d'histoire* (Brussels, 1946), pp. 149-158; E. de
Seyn, 'Dix-sept provinces', in: De Seyn, *Dictionnaire de l'histoire de Belgique*
(Liège, 1959), pp. 173-176; F. Doeleman, 'Oude en nieuwe problemen om de
zeventien Nederlanden', in: *Revue d'histoire du droit* 39 (1971), pp. 273-287; F. J.
van Ettro, 'Welke waren de namen van de zeventien Nederlanden?', in: *Jaarboek
van het Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie en het Iconographisch Bureau* 33 (1979),
pp. 126-157. H. de Schepper, 'De burgerlijke overheden en hun permanente kaders',
in: *Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. 5 (Haarlem, 1980), pp. 315-316;
H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, 4 vols. (Brussels, 1948), vol. 2, p. 109, p. 116 n.
21. For the status of Lille, Douai and Orchies: B. Augustyn, 'Het graafschap Vlaan-

The key questions should be, of course: when did the concept of the seventeen provinces come into being? How widespread was it? And, most importantly, what did contemporaries themselves consider to be the seventeen principalities of the Low Countries?

The oldest clear-cut reference to the seventeen Low Countries known to me dates from 1568, even though it is not possible to identify the different principalities. It was written down by the Calvinist minister Adriaen de Saravia (1531-1613):

> *Ende dese tyrannie sal hy eyndelijcke doen, wt oorsake datter gheen menschen oft luttel in dese seventhien Nederlanden blyven sullen, sooverre sy het wech reysen connen becomen. Soo dese XVII Nederlanden bedorven werden, soo is gantsch Duytschlant, Oostlant, Inghelant, Vranckryk, Schotlant, Yerlant, Italien, jae gantsch Europa bedorven.*[14]

> (And he will end this tyranny because of the fact that no people or only few people will remain in these seventeen Low Countries, insofar as they can move away. If these seventeen Low Countries are spoilt, all of Germany, Eastland, England, France, Scotland, Italy, yea, all of Europe will be spoilt.)

A print by the Antwerp painter Frans Floris may even precede this reference by sixteen years, and perhaps it was meant as a commemoration of the 1548 Peace of Augsburg. However, the date of the first version of this print is still disputed. The only remnant of it is a re-used version by Willem van Haecht, dating from 1577, which symbolises the Pacification of Ghent (November 8, 1576). Of course, the accompanying text had to be adjusted to the changed political situation.[15] The surviving 1577 print shows a chariot of peace, drawn by three mules. On the left side seventeen virgins, bearing coats of arms, are shown.[16] This print is one of the sources which allow us to establish the identity of the seventeen (see Plate 1).

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deren en zijn territorium', in: W. Prevenier and B. Augustijn, eds., *De gewestelijke en lokale overheidsinstellingen in Vlaanderen tot 1795* (Brussels, 1997), p. 19.

[14] Fruin, 'De zeventien provinciën' (see n. 5), p. 5 n. 1.

[15] B. Kempers, 'De assemblage van de Nederlandse leeuw. Politieke symboliek in heraldiek en verhalende prenten uit de zestiende eeuw', in: B. Kempers, ed., *Openbaring en bedrog. De afbeelding als historische bron in de Lage Landen* (Amsterdam, 1995), p. 72; cf. D. de Hoop Scheffer, 'Een zestiende-eeuwse allegorie op de vrede', in: *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 9 (1961), pp. 140-144; J. Thans and D. R. Horst, eds., *Images of Discord. A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eighty Years' War* (Bryn Mawr, 1993). It is remarkable, that during the 1549 advent of Philip II in Ypres the coats of arms of only seven (Flemish-speaking!) principalities were exhibited: Y. Rodríguez-Pérez, *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog in Spaanse ogen. De Nederlanden in Spaanse historische en literaire teksten (circa 1548-1673)* ([Nijmegen], 2003), p. 38.

[16] On this print the following coats of arms are depicted: the duchies of Lotharingia,

From the 1570s onwards, the graphic concept of symbolising the unity of the Low Countries by means of the allegorical number of seventeen coats of arms proved to be a hit.[17] Both parties in the conflict between the Dutch Republic and Spain made extensive use of the new mass medium of printing in order to motivate the existing supporters, and, consequently, many allegorical prints and pamphlets appeared. There is some concrete information about the spread of pamphlets, and it may be useful to consider their dissemination, even though they had in general a non-pictorial character. It has been estimated that most pamphlets were printed in runs of approximately 1,000-1,250 copies. After some reprints, a popular pamphlet could reach some 50,000 readers. Though this may seem a small amount in a total population of some 1.3 million inhabitants of the Low Countries, it was certainly much more than any medium could reach in the centuries before. At least the impact of the pamphlets was great enough for the government to be concerned about. In 1587, the Court of Holland condemned 'vexatious or scandalous little books, new tidings, songs, refrains or other writings tending towards unrest, disunity of the land, diminishing of the authority and of the government, magistrates, city fathers, and regents of the cities'.[18]

In the decade between 1570 and 1580, many similar pictures were made, in which the multiplicity of the Low Countries was symbolised by the coats of arms of the provinces.[19] As an example the print by Hans Collaert may be used (see Plate 2), drawn between 1570 and 1580, which shows the virgin Belgia who is assaulted by Spanish soldiers who tear out her heart. *Ambitio* and *Avaritia* watch the scene approvingly. On top, seventeen coats of arms are hanging on a chord which is torn apart by *Diffidentia* and *Invidia*. Only *Fiducia* holds the two parts together.[20]

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Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg and Guelders, the counties of Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Holland, Zeeland, Namen and Zutphen, and the lordships of Malines, Friesland, Utrecht, Overijssel and Groningen. Cf. D. de Hoop Scheffer, 'Een zestiende-eeuwse allegorie' (see n. 15), pp. 140-144. In his recent publication, Daniel Horst has not recognised the coat of arms of Lotharingia: D. R. Horst, *De Opstand in zwart-wit. Propagandaprenten uit de Nederlandse Opstand 1566-1584* (Zutphen, 2003), pp. 214-215. For the virgin as a symbol, see, for instance: A. J. Gelderblom, *Mannen en maagden in Hollands tuin* (Amsterdam, 1991), pp. 79-93.

[17] These allegorical prints were thoroughly studied by Daniel Horst (*Opstand in zwart-wit*, see n. 16). I will use this publication as a reference.

[18] Horst, *Opstand in zwart-wit* (see n. 16), pp. 33-34; C. E. Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht / Boston / Lancaster, 1987), p. 21, quotation p. 122. Cf.: M. van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 288-290; J. Tanis, 'Background: Prints, Propaganda, and Politics', in: Tanis and Horst, eds., *Images of Discord* (see n. 15), pp. 1-10.

[19] Horst, *Opstand in zwart-wit* (see n. 16), pp. 84-98 and *passim*.

[20] Cf. Tanis and Horst, *Images of Discord* (see n. 15), pp. 105-107.

Cartographic sources confirm the assumption that the association of the Low Countries with the number seventeen became popular in the 1570s and 1580s. From the middle of the sixteenth century onwards, there appear cartographic descriptions of the Low Countries as a whole, most of them of Italian origin. The oldest description known dates from 1548, when it was inserted into a Venetian edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*. Later examples date from the period 1557-1565,[21] when no fewer than eight maps were drawn. It was the Florentine writer Lodovico Guicciardini, who popularised the maps of the Low Countries with his tremendously popular *Descrittione di tutti I Paesi Bassi*. This was printed in 1567, but was soon reprinted, and was also translated into French, Latin, German and Dutch. At the moment 59 editions of the *Descrittione* are known, of which 29 are *in extenso*.[22] From 1581 onwards, the editions of Guicciardini's *Descrittione* contain a title page showing the coats of arms of the seventeen Low Countries, with the one of the duchy of Brabant in the centre (see Plate 3).

In the following decades, maps of the Low Countries were often drawn in the form of a lion, the *Leo Belgicus*. Plate 4 shows F. Hogenberg's map of the Low Countries of 1583, when a more or less authorised identification of the seventeen provinces was established. Until the Peace of Münster of 1648, many maps of the Seventeen Provinces were drawn, only two maps of the Republic, and none of the Spanish Netherlands.[23]

The number seventeen was also used in official spheres. It is interesting to see how the seal of the States General of the Low Countries came into being. In 1578, following the Pacification of Ghent, in which the provincial Estates of the Low Countries declared themselves to be independent from the Spanish king, the Estates ordered a seal to be made (see Plate 5). The seal shows a lion, holding in one of its claws seventeen arrows, which in their turn are bound together by a ribbon on which the word *Concordia* is written. In the other claw the lion holds a sword, symbolising justice.

The seal proves to be an amalgam of different symbols. The lion symbolises Christ, but also courage, and of course it refers to royal dignity. It

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[21] J. Roegiers and B. van der Herten, *Eenheid op papier. De Nederlanden in kaart van Keizer Karel tot Willem I*, Historische reeks Davidsfonds 11 (Louvain, 1994), pp. 32-33; H. A. M. van der Heijden, *Old Maps of the Netherlands, 1548-1794. An Annotated and Illustrated Cartobibliography* I *1548-1672* (Alphen aan den Rijn / Louvain, 1998), pp. 18-66.

[22] *Ludovico Guicciardini en zijn Beschrijvinghe van alle de Nederlanden*. Inleiding bij de herdruk van Guicciardini *Beschrijvinghe van alle de Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, 1968), p. 2; R. H. Touwaide, 'Guicciardini, Lodovico', in: *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 8 (Brussels, 1979), cols. 361-366; B. Aristodemo, *Lodovico Guicciardini. Descrittione di tutti I Paesi Bassi* (Amsterdam, 1994), pp. 36-61; H. Deys *et al.*, *Guicciardini illustratus. De kaarten en prenten in Lodovico Guicciardini's Beschrijving van de Nederlanden* ('t Goy-Houten, 2001), pp. 35-37 and *passim*.

[23] Roegiers and Van der Herten, *Eenheid op papier* (see n. 21), p. 50; cf. pp. 58-60.

was a very common heraldic emblem in the Low Countries. No less than eleven principalities had a lion (or parts of it) in their coats of arms. But also many noblemen of lower rank bore the king of animals in their arms. Furthermore, most of the Burgundian dukes favoured it as one of their personal emblems. John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy (1404-1419) used it, as did his grandson Charles the Bold (1467-1477) and later Philip the Fair (1482/1494-1506).[24] The sheaf of arrows points at classical mythology. In his *De garrulitate*, Plutarch writes about King Scilures, who on his deathbed tells his sons that they should keep together, for one arrow can be broken but not a sheaf. The sheaf therefore symbolised the force of unity – the choice of a ribbon with the word *Concordia* written on it was also no coincidence in this respect. As a heraldic symbol, however, the sheaf was not re-invented by the States General: they borrowed it from Isabel of Castile (†1504), grandmother of Charles V, who used it for the first time in the late fifteenth century. In 1520 Charles V himself had cited the classic legend when he addressed the States General. In the same period at least two depictions of the sheaf of arrows appeared: one (to be discussed later) on a heraldic plate dating from 1517-1518 used in the town hall of Malines; and one in the so called 'Schepenhuis van de Brugse Vrije' in Bruges, dating from 1525-1530.[25]

The seventeen coats of arms were also used during public events, like the ceremonial entry of William of Orange (later: the Silent) as the new

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[24] Huizinga, 'Uit de voorgeschiedenis' (see n. 4), pp. 134, 136-139; Kempers, 'De assemblage van de Nederlandse leeuw' (see n. 15), pp. 60-100 and *passim*. For the popularity of the lion in the Low Countries: M. Pastoureau, *Traité d'héraldique* (Paris, [4]2003), p. 136; C. Stroo, *De celebratie van de macht. Presentatieminiaturen en aanverwante voorstellingen in handschriften van Filips de Goede (1419-1467) en Karel de Stoute (1467-1477)*, Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie van België voor Wetenschappen en Kunsten: Nieuwe reeks 7 (Brussels, 2002), pp. 170-172; R. van Uytven, *De papegaai van de paus. Mens en dier in de Middeleeuwen* (Louvain/Zwolle, 2003), pp. 59-60; M. Pastoureau, *Une histoire symbolique du Moyen Âge occidental* (Paris, 2004), pp. 49-64.

[25] E. C. M. Leemans-Prins, 'Les origines de armoires royales et de l'état des Pays-Bas', in: *Recueil du septième congrès international des sciences généalogique et héraldique* (The Hague, 1964), pp. 122-123; L. Devliegher, *De Keizer Karel-schouw van het Brugse Vrije* (Brugge, 1987), p. 69. While the seal of the States General was made, two of the principalities decided to leave the Union and join the Union of Atrecht (1579). This is symbolised on the counterseal, where we can see how the hand of God removes two arrows from the sheaf: Th. Van Riemsdijk. *De griffie van Hare Hoog Mogenden. Bijdrage tot de kennis van het archief van de Staten-Generaal der Vereenigde Nederlanden* ('s-Gravenhage, 1885), pp. 140-155; H. de Vries, *Wapens van de Nederlanden. De historische ontwikkeling van de heraldische symbolen van Nederland, België, hun provincies en Luxemburg* (Amsterdam, 1995), pp. 30-33.

governor of Brabant in 1577 in Brussels (cf. Plate 6). A contemporaneous
description states:

> *Daer was noch toeghemaeckt een groote galleye ... met die dry coleuren van*
> *sijn Excellentie; ... rontsom op de distantie van seven voeten, waren gestelt*
> *schoon groen buken boomen, al behanghen met oraingappels... op elck van*
> *dese voors. buken boomen, hinck een wapen constich ghestoffeert, met ver-*
> *wegout en silver, namelijck de wapenen van de Seventhien Landen, dee (sic)*
> *wapen van den Catholijcken Coninck, van d'Excellentie des Princen van*
> *Oraingnien, van Brabant, van Brussel, etc. Op de bancken die van binnen de*
> *groen ghelooverde buken boomen stonden, saten eenighe heeren soo gheeste-*
> *lijck als weerlijck, van de Staten generael, van de seven gheslachten ende van*
> *den Magistraet der Stadt van Brussele, elck naer hun qualiteyt, in der vueghen*
> *ende manieren al oft sij in een groen playsant omwatert pryeel gheseten*
> *hadden.*[26]

> (There was also made a great galley ... with the colours of his excellence
> [William of Orange], ... around which, at a distance of seven feet, beautiful
> green beech trees were made, in which oranges were hanging ... on each of
> these beech trees a coat of arms was attached, made of gold varnish and silver,
> namely the coats of arms of the seventeen lands, the coat of arms of the catholic
> king, of his Excellency the prince of Orange, of Brabant, of Brussels etc. On
> the desks inside the circle of beech trees sat a few gentlemen, clerical as well as
> secular, of the States General, the seven families and the magistrate of Brussels,
> each according to his quality, as if they were sitting in a green pavilion sur-
> rounded by water.)

In 1578, the Brabant Calvinist rhetorician Jan van der Noot, after having
been a political refugee for eleven years and returning to his *patria*, wrote a
short poem, called *Lofsang van Braband* (Hymn of Brabant), which was
published in 1579 in bilingual (Dutch-French) form. First of all, the *Lofsang*
was a paean to Brabant, a duchy that Van der Noot considered to be the
heart of the Low Countries, but it also referred to the sixteen other parts of
the Low Countries. The following quotation is characteristic of the poem:

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[26] Jehan Baptiste Houwaert, *Declaratie van die triumphante Incompst van den*
*doorluchtighen ende hoogheboren prince van Oraingnien binnen die princelijcke*
*Stadt van Brussele, geschiet in t'iaer ons Heeren, Duysent, vijfhondert, achtentse-*
*uentich, den achthiensten Septembris* (Antwerp, 1579), p. 19; illustration, p. 18 (see
Plate 6 at the end of this essay); cf. p. 105; a similar use of the seventeen coats of
arms must have taken place on many occasions. Thomas Dekker mentions, for in-
stance, in his *The magnificent entertainment* (1604) for King James's entry into
London, a device entitled 'The pageant of the Dutch-men, by the Royal Exchange',
a device which was paid for and mounted by the Dutchmen; here the seventeen
provinces are mentioned twice: H. Werner, 'An unambiguous allusion to the Dutch
in Massinger's *Believe as you list*', in: *Notes and Queries* 244 (1999), pp. 254-256.

> *Or quant j'escris de toy Brabant chef principal*
> *De tous les Païs Bas, je prise en general*
> *Tes autres membres beaus, les seize autres provinces,*
> *Lesquelles autres-fois furent soubz d'autres princes*
> *Maintenant elles sont, pour te rendre plus seur,*
> *Tout a l'entour de toy, comme à l'entour du coeur*
> *Les autres membres sont, faisantz en apparence*
> *Un corps noble et parfaict par la ferme alliance*
> *Et unanimité. Pour ce tien toy tousjour*
> *En la ferme union, et en paix par amour.*[27]

In the edition of the *Lofsang van Braband*, a symbolic graphic reproduction of the Low Countries is inserted, which shows sixteen coats of arms, each forming a link in a chain, surrounding the arms of Brabant, which is thus depicted as the heart of the territory (see Plate 7).

In the late sixteenth century, the Low Countries received their 'national history', when Emanuel van Meteren wrote his *Memorien ofte Nederlant-sche historie van onsen tijden*. In this work he remarks:

> *Nederduytslant ofte Nederlandt, ghemeenlijck ghenaemt by de Latijnsche Bel-gium, begrijpende de XVII Provintien, ... heeft van alle tijden daer memorie af is, een vroom ende vry volck ghehadt, dat geen groote dienstbaerheyt conde lijden maer heeft haer meestendeel in vryheydt onderhouden.*[28]

> (Lower Germany or 'Netherland', commonly indicated in Latin as *Belgium*, consists of the seventeen Provinces ... has since time immemorial had a pious and free people, that could not agree to obedience, but has most often main-tained itself in freedom.)

Finally, I want to draw attention to a curious remnant of the symbolism of seventeen. It concerns a song from the year 1572, meant to persuade the towns of the Low Countries to side with William of Orange, when he in-vaded the territory. This song belongs to the collection of so-called *Geuzen-liederen* (beggarsongs) which in first instance often were spread by means of pamphlets, usually meant as propaganda in the war against the Spanish. Probably from 1574 onwards, various collections of these *Geuzenliederen*

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[27] Jan van der Noot, *Lofsang van Braband. Hymne de Braband*, ed. C. A. Zaalberg, Zwolse drukken en herdrukken 24 (Zwolle, 1958), p. 24. Dr. Alastair Duke drew my attention to this passage.

[28] E. Van Meteren, *Memorien der Belgische ofte Nederlantsche historie van onsen tijden* (Delft, 1599), f. 1r; cf. L. Brummel, *Twee ballingen 's lands tijdens onze op-stand tegen Spanje. Hugo Blotius (1534-1608); Emanuel van Meteren (1535-1612)* (The Hague, 1972), pp. 117 ff.; J. A. van Houtte, 'Geschiedschrijving', in: *Algemene geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, vol. 7 (Haarlem, 1980), pp. 324-333. The *Histoire des troubles et guerres civiles du Pays-Bas, autrement dict la France* (s.l., 1582), pp. 3-4, mentions *ceux d'Hollande et Zelande ... et des autres quinze provinces*.

were printed in books.[29] The song quoted here, first appeared in the 1586 edition of the *Geuzenliedboek* and subsequently in all following editions. It is remarkable that in this song the seventeen provinces are more or less personalised.

> *Ras, seventien provincen!*
> *Stelt u nu op de voet,*
> *Treckt de coemste des princen*
> *Vriendelijck te ghemoet;*
> *Stelt u met zijn banieren,*
> *Elck als een trouwe man,*
> *Doet helpen verlogieren*
> *Duc d'Alve, den tyran.*
>
> ...
> *Laet u dit werck behagen,*
> *Ghy landen generael.*[30]

(Quick, seventeen provinces, Rise. Walk kindly towards the prince of Orange, who will be arriving soon; Side with his banners, each as a faithful man. Help to chase the duke of Alva, the tyrant. [...] Take pleasure in this work, you united provinces.)

The symbolic and ideological strength of the concept of seventeen Low Countries is remarkable. Even though the Unions of Utrecht and Arras (1579), the fall of Antwerp in 1585, and the subsequent military campaigns divided the Low Countries into a northern and a southern part, the use of the number seventeen in this context continued well into the seventeenth century. In 1626, Adrian Valerius used it, for instance, in his *Nederlantsche gedenckclanck*.

The picture reproduced as Plate 8 represents the Ghent pacification of 1577. Seventeen virgins are sitting inside a hedged space, which is protected by the Lion of the Low Countries against the attacking Spanish soldiers. The hedge came into being in the last decade of the fourteenth century, as the emblem of the knightly order of the Holland garden, symbolising the unity of the territory of the county. Realising the actual balance of power, Valerius used it here for the Low Countries as a whole.[31] Much

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[29] For the *Geuzenliedboek* in general, see: P. Visser, '2 december 1567: de liedjesventer Cornelis Pietersz. wordt te Harlingen gearresteerd', in: M. A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen *et al.*, eds., *Nederlandse literatuur, een geschiedenis* (Groningen, 1993), pp. 164-171; L. P. Grijp, 'Lieder der Geusen. Das niederländische politische Lied im Achtzigjährigen Krieg', in: H. Lademacher and S. Groenveld, *Krieg und Kultur. Die Rezeption von Krieg und Frieden in der Niederländischen Republik und im Deutschen Reich, 1568-1648* (Münster/New York etc., 1998), pp 439-459.

[30] Edition: P. Leendertz, ed., *Het geuzenliedboek*, 2 vols. (Zutphen, 1924-1925), vol. 1, pp. 121-122.

[31] The symbol is related, of course, to that of Mary in the *Hortus conclusus*: Stroo,

later, in the nineteenth century, the number was used again. In 1814 the
Low Countries were re-united in an ill-fated kingdom, called 'Koninkrijk
der Nederlanden', only to be disbanded sixteen years later. The erection of
this kingdom was full of nostalgia, and in a pompous harangue for the
States General King William I referred to the seventeen provinces of
Charles V, even though from this moment onwards the princely bishopric of
Liège was added as an eighteenth province.[32]

We may conclude that from the middle of the sixteenth century on-
wards, the number seventeen was coupled with the Low Countries. A
variety of sources shows that it was a widespread phenomenon that was
very recognisable to the people living in the late sixteenth century.

Let me return to the initial question: which were the seventeen provinces
of the Low Countries? As I explained before, the exact demarcation is a
problem for modern scholars, and it is clear that things were just as obscure
for people in the sixteenth century. In the sources discussed above – and in
many comparable sources, mostly dating from the 1570s – at least eight
different interpretations of the identification of the Low Countries can be
distinguished (see Table II). The concept of 'Seventeen Low Countries'
may have been common knowledge, but until c. 1580 no one knew what
these seventeen principalities exactly were, even though a hard core of
eleven can be observed. Especially revealing in this context is a comparison
between plates 3 and 7 which, though they were printed at nearly the same
time and used the same iconographic model, show a very different inter-
pretation of the seventeen Low Countries. Only around that time did a com-
mon identification become dominant, whereby the seventeen provinces
were associated with the principalities of Brabant, Limbourg, Luxembourg,
Guelders, Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Holland, Zeeland, Namur, Zutphen,
Antwerp, Friesland, Malines, Utrecht, Overijssel and Groningen (the same
provinces, by the way, that are named by Van Ettro c.s. – see Table I,
column A). The rationale behind this selection is, in part, territorial, for in a
political sense, the county palatine of Burgundy (Franche-Comté) also be-
longed to the *Burgundische Kreits*, erected in 1548, but it was never re-
garded as one of the seventeen Provinces. On the other hand, it is remark-
able that the princely bishopric of Liège, which separated Luxembourg and
Limbourg from the other principalities, and therefore formed part of the

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*De celebratie van de macht* (see n. 24), pp. 138-139; A. Valerius, *Nederlandtsche
gedenck-clanck, kortelick openbarende de voornaemste geschiedenissen van de
seventhien Nederlandsche provintien* (Veere, 1626); P. J. van Winter, 'De Hollandse
Tuin', in: *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek* 8 (1957), pp. 29-212.

[32] E. H. Kossmann, *De Lage Landen 1780-1940. Anderhalve eeuw Nederland en
België* (Amsterdam/Brussel, 1982), pp. 76-77. On the other hand, the archduchy of
Luxemburg can be ruled out because it had a separate status: Van Ettro, 'Welke
waren de namen' (see n. 13), p. 155.

territory of the Netherlands, was not considered to be one of the seventeen Provinces.

*The Seventeen Burgundian Lands*

Even though the use of the number seventeen in relation to the Low Countries was established in the 1570s, it was by no means a *creatio ex nihilo*. Direct traces carry us back to the third quarter of the fifteenth century. In 1466, a stage play was performed at the Grand Place in Brussels, the writing of which had been commissioned by the Brussels magistrate, in order to welcome the victorious crown prince Charles of Charolais – the future Charles the Bold – who returned from a campaign in France and the bishopric of Liège, and who had just given a sinister preview of his belligerent attitude by burning down the towns of Dinant and Liège.[33] The stage play gives a description of the lineage of the famous dukes of Burgundy. With regard to the ancestors of Charles the Bold it remarks:

> Yan, doutste sone van Phylyps de Herdij,
> Hertoge Aelberechs van Beyeren dochter hij nam
> Teer vrouwen. En daer af quam
> Een sone alleene bynnen hueren levenne,
> Sonder meer, maer dochteren sevenne.
> Desen eenegen sone wij alle bemynnen
> Met getrouwer herten, met willegen synnen:
> Phylyps, onsen edelen prience machtich,
> Heere van seventien landen machtich,[34]

(John [the Fearless], eldest son of Philip the Bold, married the daughter of Duke Albert of Bavaria [Holland]. They had only one son and seven daughters. This only son we all love with a faithful heart and obedient attitude: Philip our noble prince, lord of seventeen powerful lands.)

There are a number of sources which indicate that the use of the number seventeen in relation to the Burgundian lands was quite widespread during the last three decades of the fifteenth century, even though it is impossible to identify the principalities. In a nineteenth-century publication, Johan Huizinga found a short rhyme about the death of Charles the Bold at the

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[33] Cf. M. Boone, 'Destroying and Reconstructing the City. The Inculcation and Arrogation of Princely Power in the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands (14th-16th centuries)', in: M. Gosman, A. Vanderjagt and J. Veenstra, eds., *The Propagation of Power in the Medieval West* (Groningen, 1997), p. 3.

[34] For an edition of this remarkable play, see: R. Stein, 'Cultuur in context. Het spel van Menych Sympel (1466) als spiegel van de Brusselse politieke verhoudingen', in: *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 113 (1998), pp. 289-321.

battlefield of Nancy. This rhyme stems from the *Dagboek der Gentsche collatie*. A variant can be found in the so-called Kattendijk Chronicle, which is extant in a manuscript of *c.* 1485.[35]

| *Dagboek* | *Kattendijk Chronicle* | Translation |
|---|---|---|
| *Den leeu verraden* | *Den Leeu verraden* | (The Lion betrayed, |
| *Huyt feller daden,* | *Sonder ghenaden* | Without mercy |
| *Syns lyfs gheplaecht,* | *Sijns lijfs gheplaecht* | Murdered, |
| *Heeft zeventien landen* | *Heeft seventijen lande* | Has left seventeen lands |
| *Ghelaten in handen* | *Ghelaten in handen* | In the hands |
| *Van eender maecht* | *Van eenre maecht.* | Of a virgin) |

The connection between the lands of Charles the Bold and the number seventeen is also made in an anonymous chronicle, written by an inhabitant of Liège, who remarks with regard to his death: *Decem et septem patriae non suffecerunt ipsi principi.* Elsewhere he is depicted as *potens dominus decem et septem patriarum.*[36] And some forty years later the chronicle called *Die wonderlijcke oorloghen* makes mention of

> *Kaerle de Valoys hertoghe van Bourgoengien, Brabandt, Lutcenborch, Lymborch, Vlaenderen, Artoys, Henegouwe, ende meer ander landen tot seventhien landen toe.*[37]
>
> (Charles de Valois, duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Luxembourg, Limbourg, Flanders, Artois, Hainault and more other countries up to the number of seventeen.)

Which were these seventeen lands? Again, simple as it may seem, this question raises problems. In the following decades, different interpretations were put forward.

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[35] J. van Vloten, ed., *Nederlandsche Geschiedzangen*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1852), p. IX, p. 111; A. G. B. Schayes, ed., *Dagboek der Gentsche collatie, bevattende een nauwkeurig verhael van de gebeurtenissen te Gent, en elders in Vlaenderen, voorgevallen van de jaren 1446 tot 1515* (Gent/Rotterdam, 1841), pp. V, 485, in a hand dating from the sixteenth century; cf. Huizinga, 'Uit de voorgeschiedenis' (see n. 4), p. 140; Kattendijk Chronicle, f. 558r. Cf. K. Tilmans, 'De Kattendijke-kroniek: een uniek kopij-manuscript uit Haarlem', in: *Boeken in de late Middeleeuwen. Verslag van de Groningse codicologendagen 1992* (Groningen, 1992), pp. 183-200. In the near future, the Kattendijk Chronicle will be edited by Antheun Janse.

[36] Edited in: H. Kervyn de Lettenhove, ed., *Chroniques relatives à l'histoire de Belgique sous la domination des ducs de Bourgogne*, 3 vols. (Brussels, 1870-1876), vol. 3, pp. 480-490, 487. Cf. Huizinga, 'Uit de voorgeschiedenis' (see n. 4), p. 140, n. 5.

[37] *Dit sijn die wonderlijcke oorloghen van den doorluchighen hochgheboren prince, keyser Maximiliaen. Hoe hij eerst int landt quam. Ende hoe hij vrou Marien troude*, ed. W. J. Alberts (Groningen/Djakarta, 1957), p. 5.

(1) Only two years after the stage play was performed on the Brussels
Grand Place, a second reference to the number seventeen appeared. On the
occasion of the marriage of Charles the Bold, a statue was attached to the
gate of the ducal palace in Bruges. In the centre of this statue was depicted
the ducal coat of arms surrounded by five 'Burgundian' duchies and twelve
other counties and seigniories (see Plate 9). The interpretation of the statue
is made easier by the fact that many descriptive texts survive.[38]

> *Dit navolghende gaet mynen gheduchten heere an.*
> *Item, boven der Zuudpoorte van den hove van hertoghe Chaerle zoo was ge-*
> *maict ende gestelt een rykelyc tabernacule, al verghuld, dair an dat staet de*
> *wapene chierlic van den voirss. Chaerle, al verghuld, den helm van Bour-*
> *gonjen, ghetimmert metter lelye ende de voirss. wapenen, gehouden van twee*
> *gouden leeuwen up staende. Ende boven dien timmer hanghende de vive wape-*
> *nen van den vive hertoochscepen, dair hy heere af is, ende dair buten*
> *hanghende alle de andre wapenen van den lande, dair hy heere af is.*[39]

(The following concerns my formidable lord.
Item, above the southern gate of Duke Charles's court a very rich table was made
and placed. It was entirely gilded. Two lions rampant held the helmet of Bur-
gundy, made with *fleur-de-lis* and the coat of arms. Above this figure were the
five coats of arms of the five duchies of which he is prince. On the outside were
depicted all the other coats of arms of the lands of which he is prince.)

(2) In 1472, the Brabant chronicler Nicolaas Clopper wrote his *Flora-*
*rium temporum*, a large chronicle about the history of the Low Countries.
There are only two medieval manuscripts left, but there is also an abridged
edition dating from the early seventeenth century. Seventeen principalities
are named here:

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[38] For this celebration, see H. von Seggern, *Herrschermedien im Spätmittelalter.*
*Studien zur Informationsübermittlung im burgundischen Staat unter Karl dem*
*Kühnen* (Ostfildern, 2003), pp. 273-307. A comparable statue, in the form of a tree,
must have been erected at the occasion of Philip the Bold's marriage with Isabella of
Portugal in 1430, also in Bruges: Stroo, *De celebratie van de macht* (see n. 24), pp.
109-110.

[39] A. J. Enschedé, 'Huwelijksplechtigheden van Karel van Bourgondië en Marga-
retha van York', in: *Kronijk van het historisch genootschap*, series 5, no. 2 (1866),
pp. 31-32. Cf. the description in Olivier de La Marche, *Mémoires*, eds. H. Beaune
and J. d'Arbaumont, 4 vols. (Paris, 1883-1888), vol. 3, p. 103: *Toutes lesdictes rues*
*passées, histoires et seremens, madicte dame vint à ladicte court, à la porte de*
*laquelle estoit faicte nouvellement ung riche ouvrage de fin or, en quoy sont et de-*
*meurent à perpetuel les armes tymbrées de mondit seigneur, environnées des armes*
*de ses pays tenues de deux grans lions, et sa devise desoubz en lettre antique: Je l'ay*
*emprins. Et à l'un costé desdictes armes estoit ung archier tyrant vin blanc, et à*
*l'aultre costé estoit ung crennequinier tyrant vin vermeil tout le jour, que le commun*
*recepvoit partant de leur trait.*

[*Philippus*] *dictus est magnus dux Burgundiae tum propter rerum gestarum magnitudinem, tum propter principatuum suorum multitudinem ... Nam pacifice fuit Burgundie, Lotharingie, Brabancie, Lymburgie et Lutzenburgie dux; Flandrie, Arthesii, Burgundie palatinus, Hannonie, Hollandie, Zelandie, Namurici et Bolonie comes; Frisie, Salinarii et Machlinie dominus et princeps Sacri Imperii Marchio.*[40]

(Philip is called the great duke of Burgundy because of his great deeds and because of the multitude of his principalities ... for he was peacefully duke of Burgundy, Lotharingia, Brabant, Limbourg and Luxembourg; count of Flanders, Artois, the palatinate of Burgundy, Hainault, Holland, Zeeland, Namur and Boulogne; lord of Friesland, Salins and Malines and marquis of the Holy Roman Empire.)

(3) In *c.* 1494, a painting was made, probably by Pieter van Coninxloo (see Plate 10), which shows Philip the Fair and his sister Margaret, surrounded by the coats of arms of the Austrian and the Burgundian possessions respectively, each amounting to seventeen.[41]

(4) Around the same year, a painting was made, attributed to the Master of the Saint-George-Guild (see Plate 11), displaying a very similar picture; in this case however, Philip and Margaret are not surrounded by their coats of arms, but by the written names of the principalities.[42]

(5) The seal of Charles V (1515-1555), dating from the period before 1528, shown in Plate 12 in a drawing by Olivier de Wree (1596-1652), portrays the emperor in the centre, sitting on his throne of judgement, equipped with his personal coat of arms, and surrounded by the seventeen coats of arms of his Burgundian principalities.[43]

(6) Plate 13 shows a comparable seal of the archducal couple Albert and Elizabeth (1598-1621, seal dating from 1613).[44]

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[40] Ms. Düsseldorf, Nordrheinwestfälisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Hs. C X 2, fol. 308r. Edition of a revised version by J. Pistoris published as *Magnum chronicon Belgicum*, in: *Rerum, Germanicarum veteres ... scriptores VI* (Frankfurt, 1607), p. 372; cf. P. C. Boeren, *Florarium temporum. Een wereldkroniek uit het jaar 1472* (The Hague, 1951).

[41] M. J. Onghena, *De iconografie van Philips de Schone*, 2 vols. (Brussels, 1952), vol. 1, pp. 114-117, no. 33; vol. 2, cat. IV.

[42] *Porträtgalerie zur Geschichte Österreichs von 1400 bis 1800* (Vienna, 1976), pp. 57-58, no. 16 and ill. 29; Onghena, *Iconografie* (see n. 41), vol. 1, pp. 112-114, no. 32; vol. 2, cat. V-VI; A. Mensger, *Jan Gossaert. Die niederländische Kunst zu Beginn der Neuzeit* (Berlin, 2002), p. 162. The authorship is disputed.

[43] Olivier de Wree (or Vredius), *Sigilla comitum Flandria et inscriptiones diplomatum ab iis editorum cum expositione historica* (Bruges, 1639), fol. 64r. UB Leiden, sign. 416 B 16:1. Cf. Van Ettro, 'Welke waren de namen' (see n. 13), pp. 130-131. For the way Charles is portrayed, see: G. Kipling, *Enter the King. Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 156-168.

[44] De Wree (Vredius), *Sigilla comitum Flandria* (see n. 43), fol. 98.

Instead of the seventeen Low Countries from the 1570s, we see here five variations of seventeen principalities within the Burgundian sphere of influence: the Low Countries, with the Burgundian possessions in eastern France (see Table III and Map). Even in the short period between 1468 and 1494 there are remarkable variations: the lists consist of a hard core of duchies and counties and a varying group of smaller seigniories.

As I mentioned before, the oldest explicit use of the number seventeen in relation to the Burgundian lands I know of, dates from 1466. But of course, the tradition may be older. There is one puzzling image I want to draw attention to: the well-known and highly symbolic picture called the fishing-party (see Plate 14), probably dating from the first quarter of the fifteenth century.[45] It depicts eight women and nine men who are standing beside a stream, in which three of them are fishing. In the existing literature it is often interpreted in relation to the county of Holland and the political developments following the death of Count William VI. Art-historians have tried to identify the portraits of the depicted persons, but the identification remains heavily disputed. The title of the painting, probably written on the frame in the sixteenth century, is: *Veterum Burgundiae ducum coniugumque filiorum filiarumque habitus ac vestitus.* Though the inscription may be posterior to the painting itself, it is possible that what is represented here are the dynastic lineages of the Burgundian house with the dynasties of Brabant and Hainault-Holland, that brought together the Burgundian lands. As we will see, the fact that three of the depicted persons are fishing may be significant in this context. If we are right in assuming that seventeen was used deliberately, we may conclude that the painting is the earliest source connecting the Burgundian inheritance to the number seventeen.

Even if this assumption proves to be true, the use of seventeen in this context was not very widespread before the middle of the fifteenth century. When the Burgundian delegate Jean Jouffroy visited Pope Nicolas V in 1448, he listed all the lands of Philip the Good in a dazzling speech. He did not refer to seventeen countries, but boasted about

*Quinque ducatus egregios, marquionatus et comitatus fere viginti adstringit noster princeps.*[46]

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[45] R. van Luttervelt, 'Bijdragen tot de iconographie van de graven van Holland, naar aanleiding van de beelden uit de Amsterdamse vierschaar II', in: *Oud-Holland* 72 (1957), pp. 139-150; A. Châtelet, *Early Dutch Painting. Painting in the Northern Netherlands in the Fifteenth Century* (Amsterdam, 1981), p. 197; L. Ninane, 'Un portrait de famille des ducs de Bavière, comtes de Hollande, Zéélande et Hainaut', in: *Bulletin des Musées royaux des Beaux-arts de Belgique* 34 (1985-1988), pp. 63-74.

[46] P. Bonenfant, 'État bourguignon et Lotharingie', in: *Académie Royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques*, series 5, 41 (1955), pp. 273-274.

(Our prince bound together five excellent duchies and nearly twenty mar-
chionates and counties.)

This is confirmed by a group of manuscripts that was illuminated in the
middle of the fifteenth century, which contain presentation-miniatures that
are characterised by the fact that the margins are decorated with the coats of
arms of the Burgundian heritage. In nearly all these manuscripts fourteen
coats of arms are depicted.[47]

In Habsburg times, the use of the number seventeen in relation to the
coats of arms of the princely domain, which was of Burgundian origin,
proved to be an export-article. Remarkable are the two comparable diptychs
of Philip the Fair and his sister Margaret of Austria, both dating from
around 1494, which I mentioned earlier (see Plates 10 and 11). They show
Philip surrounded by seventeen names or by the coats of arms respectively
of the Austrian principalities and Margaret by those of the seventeen
Burgundian principalities.[48] Again, this is a matter of interpretation; normal-
ly it is assumed that the Habsburg house did not possess seventeen, but six-
teen titles in Austria.[49] Things become more confusing with the fascinating
triptych painted by Jan van Battel and commissioned by the stewards of the
town of Malines in 1517-1518 (see Plate 15). The left and right wings show
us 21 (!) principalities of the Austrian inheritance and 21 (!) principalities of
the Burgundian inheritance respectively. In the central panel Charles V is
depicted, surrounded by seventeen coats of arms, not showing his Bur-
gundian principalities, but his Spanish possessions. The resemblance to the
seal of Charles V is striking (see Plate 12).[50] In reality, the Spanish crown
that Charles wore, formed an amalgam of some thirty titles, including those
of Jerusalem, India and the Canary Islands.[51]

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[47] Stroo, *De celebratie van de macht* (see n. 24), pp. 96-118; ill. 41, 73, 90; cf. Van
Ettro, 'Welke waren de namen' (see n. 13), pp. 141-143. Even during the reign of
Charles the Bold, the number of seventeen coats of arms only seldom appears in
manuscripts.
[48] *Porträtgalerie zur Geschichte Österreichs* (see n. 42), pp. 57-58, no. 16 and ill.
29; Onghena, *Iconografie* (see n. 41), vol. 1, pp. 112-117, nos. 32-33, vol. 2, cat. V,
VI.
[49] *Die Wappenbücher Herzog Albrechts VI. von Österreich. Ingeram-Codex der
ehem. Bibliothek Cotta* (Vienna/Cologne/Graz, 1986).
[50] G. Delmarcel, 'Karel van Habsburg, als koning te midden van de wapens van zijn
territoria', in: H. Soly, J. van de Wiele, and H. Devisscher, eds., *Carolus. Keizer
Karel V 1500-1558* (Ghent, 1999), p. 171, no. 12; cf. G. Delmarcel, 'MS/7. Karel
van Habsburg, koning van Spanje, te midden van de wapenschilden van zijn be-
zittingen', in: V. Vercruysse, ed., *Aspekten van de laatgotiek in Brabant* (Louvain,
1971), pp. 260-263.
[51] In 1516, Jeanne and Charles V were called: "Reyna y rey de Castilla, de León, de
Aragón, de las Dos Sicilias, de Jerusalén, de Navarra, de Granada, de Toledo, de

The interpretation of the number seventeen in relation to the Burgundian heritage has been far less popular among historians, than that in relation to the Low Countries. Nevertheless, some have tried to give an interpretation. As the number seventeen is related to the territories of the Burgundian dukes, it is understandable that scholars have first of all investigated the feudal titles of the princes in the Burgundian personal union and the Low Countries. In reality, the dukes of Burgundy and the Habsburg princes possessed many smaller titles in the Low Countries and even more outside this territory.[52] Most often, the dukes did restrict themselves to the titles of the major principalities. In Table IV the princely titles are shown that the dukes of Burgundy and their Habsburg successors used in official documents and in representative circumstances between the middle of the fifteenth and the middle of the sixteenth century. In the Habsburg case, I limited the titles to the so-called Burgundian inheritance, and left out the Spanish and Austrian titles.

The princes never used seventeen titles, but fifteen, sixteen, eighteen or even 21 instead. From the fourth quarter of the fifteenth century onwards, the number of eighteen principalities became the generally accepted standard. In this way it was not only used in the formal sequence of Burgundian titles, but also in pictorial form, for instance in the chapel of the family Van Immerseel in Antwerp (1492), on the tomb of Mary of Burgundy in Bruges (post 1490) and in different manuscripts that Charles the Bold commissioned during the second half of his reign. On the other hand, on the famous *Wappenturm* in Innsbruck, erected in 1505, 21 coats of arms of the Burgundian lands were depicted.[53] When the *Burgundische Kreits* was erected in 1547-1548, it was concluded that it would comprise 23 different provinces.[54]

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Valencia, de Galicia, de Mallorca, de Sevilla, de Cerdeña, de Córdoba, de Córcega, de Murcia, de Jaén, de los Algarves, de Algeciras, de Gibraltar, de las islas Canarias, de las Islas Indias y Tierra Firme del mar Océano, condes de Barcelona, señores de Vizcaya y de Molina, duques de Atenas y Neopatria, condes de Ruisellón y de Cerdaña, marqueses de Oristán y de Gociano". Then follow the Austrian and Burgundian titles. C. S. Serrane, *Historia de la vida y hechos del emperador Carlos V*, 3 vols. (Madrid, repr. 1955-1956), vol. 1, p. 83.

[52] Cf. P. L. Nève, *Het Rijkskamergerecht en de Nederlanden. Competentie – territoir – archieven* (Assen, 1972), *passim*.

[53] E. Léonard, 'De kapel van Bourgondië te Antwerpen', in: *Noordgouw* 1 (1961), pp. 15-32; V. Vermeersch, *Grafmonumenten te Brugge voor 1578*, 3 vols. (Brugge, 1976), vol. 2, pp. 368-389; Stroo, *Celebratie van de macht* (see n. 24), pp. 105-106 and illustrations 103-104. For a reproduction of the Wappenturm, see, e.g. O. Neubecker, *Heraldiek: bronnen, symbolen en betekenis* (Alphen aan den Rijn, 1988), p. 253.

[54] Nève, *Rijkskamergerecht* (see n. 52), p. 124. It distinguishes the 21 titles that Philip II used (see Table IV) and adds Valkenburg and Dalhem, both situated in the

We may conclude that the use of the number seventeen in the second half of the fifteenth century formed a preliminary stage of its use in the 1570s and 1580s. Many identical titles were used in both periods, but the rationale was completely different. In the sixteenth century the selection was based on a territorial-political argument, in the fifteenth century exclusively on a dynastic argument. The references do not yet concern some unified territorial entity, but the possessions of the Burgundian dynasty: more or less the western part of the Low Countries and the possessions of the dynasty in the south, Burgundy proper. When we compare the visual sources used here, this difference becomes obvious again. In the fifteenth century, the prince is nearly always in the centre, either represented by his coat of arms, or by some kind of portrait. In the sixteenth century, however, this is no longer the case. Now and again, the seventeen are shown as a group confronting the prince, or living together in a hedged space. Closely related to this observation, a second remark can be made: in the fifteenth century the number seventeen was nearly always used in the direct vicinity of the ducal house. A century later, the symbolic numeral was adopted by the rebellious States and their propagandists.

In both cases, the vagueness of the identification of the principalities is remarkable; even though most names are standard, there are many inconsistencies in the specification of the last three or four. Both related uses of the number seventeen make clear, however, that to late-medieval and early-modern men seventeen did not mean exactly the same thing that it means to us – an integer between sixteen and eighteen. The main question remains therefore: why is the number seventeen used? We should turn to Johan Huizinga's views to address this question.

*Huizinga's Interpretation*

Johan Huizinga, who started his career not as a historian but as a Sanskritist, opted for an approach quite different from the one used by most of his colleagues.[55] In his article 'Uit de voorgeschiedenis van ons nationaal besef', which originally appeared in 1912, he discusses the oldest symbols of national identity in the Low Countries. Among other symbols, he deals with the use of the number seventeen. Instead of reconstructing the names of the seventeen provinces in a more or less positivistic way, as was usual, he stresses that the number should not be taken literally.[56] He refers to the

vicinity of the old duchy of Limbourg – not to be confused with the present day Belgian and Dutch provinces that are also called Limbourg.

[55] Huizinga wrote his dissertation on an anthropological subject, which may account for his deviating approach with regard to history: A. van der Lem, *Johan Huizinga. Leven en werk in beelden en documenten* (Amsterdam, 1993), pp. 28-53.

[56] Huizinga, 'Uit de voorgeschiedenis' (see n. 4), pp. 140-142.

verses: 'Nachtwacht heeft u nog boeven gezien? Ja mijnheer, wel zeventien' (Night watch, have you seen any villains? Yes sir, seventeen).[57]

The point, Huizinga argues, is not that the night watch had actually seen exactly seventeen villains, or more or less. In this case seventeen should be taken as a symbolic number, signifying a rather large group of a non-specific size. Huizinga's assumption can be illustrated with a few Dutch expressions. There is, for instance, the old-Dutch phrase 'In het jaar min dan zeventien' (in the year less than seventeen), meaning something that will never happen. Other expressions include 'op zijn zeventien gemakken' (at his seventeen leisures), and 'een schilder en zou die niet constigher moghen betrecken, al studeerde hij noch zeventhien iaren' (a painter would not be able to draw this more artfully, even if he studied seventeen years).[58] Finally, there is a song about an evil stepmother, who sold her stepdaughter for seventeen pennies and a golden ring.[59] In all these cases, the actual number seems to be of no importance.

In his paper, Huizinga refers to a number of analogous uses of the number seventeen with regard to kingdoms, nations and languages. In the late fourteenth century, Jean Froissart (c. 1337-c. 1404) and Georges Chastelain (1405-1475) remarked that 'all the seventeen nations of the world' assembled in Bruges. To quote Froissart: *De XVII roiaulmes crestyens li avoirs et les marchandises viennent et arivent à l'Escluse en Flandres, et tout ont la délivrance ou au Dam ou à Bruges.*[60] Later on, in 1499, Olivier de La Marche (c. 1429-1502) would refer to the same tradition: *La haulte Frize que l'on dit l'ung des dix sept royaulmes chrestiens.*[61] La Marche's reference is confirmed by a number of French armorials, dating from the post-1475 period, in which the seventeen kingdoms are mentioned.[62]

Unknown to Huizinga was the ceremonial entry by Charles V in Bruges as the new count of Flanders in 1515, which also refers to the seventeen kingdoms. The tanners made one of the most important pageants, which was situated at the 'Kraanplaats' (see Plate 16):

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[57] Huizinga, 'Uit de voorgeschiedenis' (see n. 4), p. 141.

[58] Examples from M. de Vries *et al.*, *Woordenboek der Nederlandse taal*, 29 vols. (Leiden/The Hague, 1882-1998), lemma 'Seventien'. At present this dictionary is also available in digital form.

[59] Fl. van Duyse, *Het oude Nederlandsche lied*, 4 vols. (The Hague/Antwerp, 1903-1908), vol. 1, pp. 221-223.

[60] J. Froissart, *Œuvres, X: 1382-1386*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1870), p. 408; cf. G. Chastelain, *Œuvres*, vol. 5: *Chronique 1464, 1466-1468, 1470*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1864), p. 116.

[61] Olivier de La Marche, *Mémoires* (see n. 39), vol. 3, p. 319; cf. *idem*, vol. 1, p. 93.

[62] *De Fryske Flagge. Rapport en Advys fan de kommisje ta bistudearring fan de Fryske flagge, ynsteld troch it Genealogysk Wurkforbân op oanstean fan it Bistjûr fan de Fryske Akademy* (*It Beaken* 18) (Assen, 1956), pp. 55-56, 84; P. Adam-Even, 'Cris d'armes de rois Chrétiens', in: *Archivum heraldicum* 68 (1954), pp. 35-38.

*De vrauwe hyet coopmanscepe die men vant ... met eenen scepe draghende
voorspoedich last ... Van wyens hoofde schenen XVII gouden raeyen; elcke
raye zach men an een wapene stricken van den seventien kerstene conijc-
rijcken, boven haren hoefde ghespreedt int wijde. Neven haer in triumphen zon-
der bezwijcken sach men Philips de Valoys int harnasch blijcken en Chaerles
de Valoys zat over dander zijde Met wapenrocx rijckelic int ghesmijde in
tekene dat Brugghelijnghen triumpheirden ten tijden als die twee princhen
regneirden.*[63]

(There was a woman, who was called trade ... with a ship carrying prosperous
cargo in her hands ... From her head came XVII golden beams and each beam
carried a coat of arms of one of the seventeen Christian kingdoms, which
spread above her head. Philip of Valois flanked her on one side, dressed in
armour; on the other side she was flanked by Charles of Valois in coat of mail,
as a symbol that Bruges prospered during the reign of those two princes.)

It is remarkable that the number of seventeen nations also returns in the
organisational structures of the University of Bologna. In the fifteenth cen-
tury the Citramontane University was divided into seventeen nations, and
from 1498 onwards the *Ultramontanes* also into eighteen nations.[64]

Far older is the use of the number seventeen in a comparable context by
the Anglo-Norman chronicler Benoit de St.-Maure, who was connected
with the court of Eleanor of Aquitaine and who presents an earlier version,
not of seventeen kingdoms, but of seventeen kings. Between 1165 and 1172
he wrote his major work, the *Roman de Troie* containing 30,000 verses. In
this chronicle he elaborates on the Trojan hero Hector, who, Benoit tells us,
defeated seventeen kings. According to the writer, the statues of these kings
were placed on the tomb of the Trojan hero.[65] Without any doubt the work
of Benoit was well known in the late medieval Low Countries, but it is
remarkable that in the Middle-Dutch adaptations of his work,[66] the number
of kings differs from seventeen.

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[63] *La tryumphante Entree de Charles prince des Espagnes en Bruges 1515*, a facsi-
mile with an introduction by S. Anglo (Amsterdam/New York, [1971]), p. 27 and
fol. Flv; cf. W. P. Blockmans and E. Donckers, 'Self-Representation of Court and
City in Flanders and Brabant in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries', in: W.
P. Blockmans and A. Janse, eds., *Showing Status: Representations of Social Posi-
tions in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 1999), pp. 81-111.
[64] J. Verger, 'Natio', in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. 6 (München/Zürich, 1993),
cols. 1038-1039, dates the seventeen Citramontane nations to the fourteenth century;
P. Kibre, *The Nations in the Mediaeval Universities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948), pp.
9-12, dates them between 1459 and 1498.
[65] Benoit de St.-Maure, *Le Roman de Troie*, 6 vols. (Paris, 1904-1912), vol. 3, pp.
92-108. Cf. the conviction at the Burgundian court, that Girart de Roussillon had
won seventeen battles: G. Small, *George Chastelain and the Shaping of Valois Bur-
gundy* (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 222.
[66] See Jacob van Maerlant, *Dit is die istory van Troyen*, eds. Nap. de Pauw and E.

Closely related to the seventeen nations and the Christian kingdoms seems to be the concept of the seventeen languages, to which the Bohemian ambassador Leo of Rozmital refers. Rozmital was a nobleman who visited Western Europe in the years 1465-1467, and also stayed at the Burgundian court. Two of his companions wrote a highly informative travel account. When Rozmital wanted to leave the court, he asked Philip the Good for a herald to accompany him. The duke responded:

> *Est nobis Heroldus, qui apud omnes Christianos reges diversatus est, linguas septemdecim callet, eum tradere volumus, eique mandabimus, ut te fideliter deducat usque in patriam tuam.*[67]

> (We have a herald who has sojourned at the courts of all Christian kings and knows seventeen languages. Him we will give you with orders to conduct you faithfully back to your own country.)[68]

Then there is the fine work *De pace fidei* by Nicolas of Cusa (1401-1464), who was educated in the Low Countries and whose works were well known in these regions. Cusanus relates how God orders the wise men of this world to appear before His throne in order to explain the religious differences between them. For our purpose it is relevant not that an agreement was reached between the 'nations of languages', but that there appeared representatives of seventeen nations.[69] Here the use of the number seventeen is even more remarkable, because on the basis of Genesis 10:1-5 most medieval people agreed that there existed no less then 72 languages in the world, because Noah's three sons had fathered a numerous offspring, who became the forefathers of the 72 existing nations or languages.[70]

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Gaillard (Ghent, 1889-1892), vol. 2, vs. 20070-20105. In another context, the name of Aeneas is connected with the number of seventeen kings. In the classic 'Aeneas-group', seventeen pre-Roman Latin kings were portrayed: M. Spannagel, *Exemplaria principis. Untersuchungen zu Entstehung und Ausstattung des Augustusforums* (Heidelberg, 1999), pp. 267-287; the number of seventeen kings returns in the Rothari's edict, dating from the fourth century, in which seventeen predecessors of Rothari are mentioned: *Ego ... septimo decimum rex gentis Langobardorum*: W. Pohl, 'Memory, Identity and Power in Lombard Italy', in: Y. Hen and M. Innes, eds., *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 14.

[67] *Des böhmischen Herrn Leo's von Rozmital Ritter-, Hof- und Pilger-Reise durch die Abendlande 1465-1467. Beschrieben von zweien seiner Begleiter* (Stuttgart, 1844), p. 28.

[68] *The Travels of Leo of Rozmital through Germany, Flanders, England, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy 1465-1467*, ed. M. Letts (Cambridge, 1957), p. 39.

[69] Cf. Huizinga, 'Uit de voorgeschiedenis' (see n. 4), p. 141.

[70] A. Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel. Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker*, 4 vols. (Stuttgart, 1957-1963), vol. 1, pp. 1-9 and *passim*. Cf. for the number 72: H. Meyer and R. Suntrup, *Lexikon der mittelalterlichen Zahlenbedeutungen* (München, 1987), col. 760.

These examples of the use of seventeen can be extended by some others, in which the numeral also seems to refer to a non-specified – or non-recognisable – number. There existed, for instance, the so-called 'Hanse of the XVII towns', a league of cooperation of Flemish and North-French towns, dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the composition of which remains disputed; most often it is assumed that far more than seventeen towns participated.[71] Furthermore, in France there was a tradition of the 1,700,000 *clochers de France*, which was studied by Philippe Contamine. Here, the number seventeen is the nucleus as well (*dix-sept cent mille*). The French tradition was established in the early fifteenth century by civil servants. It functioned as a hypothetical and very rough estimation of the possible revenues that a stringent taxation of 20 *écus* per bell tower would bring to the French king. This wishful strategy supposed him to become a wealthy and above all mighty man. The '1.700.000 clochers' became a myth in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In reality, of course, the number of 1,700,000 is far too high.[72] Furthermore, in the Middle Dutch Geraards-bergen-manuscript, dating from the 1460s, there is a riddle that asks the reader to guess what XVII means: *XVII bederven meneghen man die hem te tiden niet wachten can* (seventeen spoil many a man who is not prepared to wait). As a clue, a series of more or less complementary characteristics is given; the solution turns out to be 'wijve' (woman), a near anagram of XVII.[73]

To the north of the Low Countries, in the 'ancient kingdom of Friesland' there are additional references to the number seventeen, the oldest of which even dates from the ninth century. According to Adam of Bremen, Friesland is at that moment divided into seventeen *pagi*; later the number of seven would be used in this context.[74] In the late twelfth or early thirteenth century a group of laws developed, which came to be known as the Seventeen statutes ('Zeventien keuren'). Though there are older traces of parts of these

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[71] L. Carolus-Barré, 'Les XVII villes. Une Hanse vouée au grand commerce de la draperie', in: *Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (1965), pp. 20-31.

[72] P. Contamine, 'Contribution à l'histoire d'un mythe: les 1.700.000 clochers du royaume de France (XVe-XVIe siècles)', in: *Économies et sociétés au Moyen Âge. Mélanges offerts à Edouard Perroy* (Paris, 1973), pp. 414-427. A far older reference is possibly the distinction of seventeen Frisian lands in the eleventh-century work of Bishop Adam von Bremen: W. Trillmich, ed., *Quellen des 9. und 11. Jahrhunderts zur Geschichte der hamburgischen Kirche und des Reiches* (Darmstadt, 1978), p. 448. Was it in the sixteenth century that Hendrik van Nassau divided his garden into seventeen different beds? T. E. van Goor, *Beschrijving der stadt en lande van Breda* (The Hague, 1744), p. 63.

[73] M.-J. Govers *et al.*, *Het Geraardsbergse handschrift*, Middeleeuwse verzamel-handschriften uit de Nederlanden 1 (Amsterdam, Brussel, 1994), pp. 43-44.

[74] *Fresia regio est maritima, inviis inaccesas paludibus habetque pagos XVII.* Trillmich, *Quellen des 9. und 11. Jahrhunderts* (see n. 72), p. 448.

laws, it was only around 1200 that they formed an authorised canon that became applicable in the whole of Friesland west of the Lauwers estuary. According to legend, St Magnus, *dux Frisonum*, was the bearer of the banner when Frisian warriors heroically defended the pope when he was attacked by the Saracens. Charlemagne and the pope showed the Frisian people their gratitude by giving them all kinds of laws: the seven 'Magnuskeuren', the thirty-six 'seend-laws', the 'zeventien keuren' and the 'twenty-four landlaws'. These were considered to form the nucleus of the famous Frisian Freedom ('Friese Vrijheid'), which made the Frisians free people forever. It is clear that the numbers used are highly symbolic, and probably the 'keuren' were moulded into a structure of seventeen regulations.[75]

Finally, I want to draw attention to one remarkable example, derived from Brabant historiography. It is the more conspicuous, because it is one of the few cases where seventeen is not used in a positive context. Around 1334 the Antwerp town clerk Jan van Boendale (†1351) wrote one of his continuations to the *Brabantsche Yeesten*, the Brabant national chronicle. The direct cause for his activity was the heroic war in which the duchy was involved. A coalition of all the neighbouring princes compacted with each other against the Brabant Duke John III. The coalition against Brabant was supported by all the surrounding princes and the duchy of Brabant was isolated; only the count of Bar refused to join the alliance. The war of 1332-1334 was a real threat to the independence of the duchy, and only the massive support of Duke John's subjects and the mutual discord between the attacking princes prevented a serious defeat. This union between the prince and his subjects was the event that Jan van Boendale wanted to commemorate. He wrote about seventeen princes that challenged the noble duchy of Brabant, even though he could only name fifteen of them – the other two he indicated rather vaguely as 'two knights stemming from the Rhineland'. Archival research has shown that in reality there were no fewer than 27 princes attacking the duchy of Brabant in those years.[76]

At the same moment that Jan van Boendale glorified the union of duke and subjects in the *Brabantsche Yeesten*, an anonymous herald, approaching the war in a more dynastic way, wrote a song which is extant in the so-called *Guelders armorial* (*c.* 1410). This song contains nineteen stanzas interspersed with eighteen heraldic emblems. The first seventeen of these emblems are those of the princes, depicted as hounds who attack a wild boar (the duke of Brabant). The eighteenth comprises the words of a wolf (representing the count of Bar), who warns the attackers to watch out for the

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[75] P. N. Noomen, 'St. Magnus van Hollum en Celdui van Esens. Bijdrage tot de chronologie van de Magnustraditie', in: *De Vrije Fries* 69 (1989), pp. 7-32; Algra, *Zeventien keuren en vierentwintig landrechten* (see n. 9), pp. 240-241 and *passim*.

[76] P. Avonds, *Brabant tijdens de regering van hertog Jan III (1312-1356). De grote politieke krisissen* (Brussels, 1984), p. 81.

power of the boar. In the nineteenth and final stanza, the wild boar gets up
in order to challenge his attackers. The verses of the seventeen princes
attacking the Brabant boar are only understandable in a visualised context,
which enabled the identification of the individual hounds as leaders of
principalities. It is therefore highly probable that already at this stage the
presentation of seventeen had a heraldic connotation.[77] A century later, this
tradition was well known at the Burgundian court. Not only did the
historiographer Emond de Dynter (*ca.* 1380-1449) use the tradition in the
chronicle that he dedicated to Philip the Good in 1446, in 1438 it was also
used in an inventory of the charters of the duchy of Brabant, which was
ordered by Philip the Good, and written and beautifully illuminated by the
Brabant secretary Adriaan van der Ee. Van der Ee painted a castle besieged
by seventeen hounds, each with its own coats of arms. A wolf and a wild
boar defend the castle (see Plate 17).

The subject of the seventeen landlords proved to be suitable for public
display. During a procession in Louvain in 1438, the seventeen landlords
were paraded through town.[78] In 1515, they were on display in the town of
Bois-le-Duc during the ceremonial entry of Charles V as duke of Brabant:

> *Op een stillagie aldaer stonden int harnasch properlic gestelt XVII mannen,*
> *presenterende die XVII lantsheren elck met zyne wapene figureert.*[79]

> (On a stage there were XVII armoured men, representing the XVII landlords,
> each with his own coat of arms.)

All of this evidence seems to support – or at least not to be incompatible
with – Huizinga's view that seventeen should not be considered an exact
number, but a more global indication, referring to an uncounted, not very
large number. Though most scholars[80] treated his contribution with some
disdain, his remarks are categorical, at least in a general sense. In my view,
most important is Huizinga's underlying assumption, that we should not ask
what seventeen means to us, but what it meant to medieval and early
modern people. I am convinced by his suggestion that seventeen should not
be seen as an exact number, but far less, however, by his indication of

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[77] Edition: J.-F. Willems, 'Wapenlied van Jan den IIIe, hertog van Brabant', in: *Bel-
gisch Museum* 1 (1837), pp. 287-296; cf. P. Avonds, 'Heer Everzwijn. Oorlogspoëzie in
Brabant in de 14de eeuw', in: *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 63 (1980), pp. 17-27.
[78] E. van Even, *L'Omgang de Louvain. Dissertation historique et archéologique sur ce
célèbre cortège communal* (Brussel, 1863), p. 28 and n. 6.
[79] Pieter van Os, *Kroniek. Geschiedenis van 's-Hertogenbosch en Brabant van Adam
tot 1523*, eds. A. M. van Lith-Droogleever Fortuijn, J. G. M. Sanders and G. A. M. van
Synghel ('s-Gravenhage, 1997), pp. 337-338.
[80] Van Ettro, 'Welke waren de namen van de zeventien Nederlanden?' (see n. 13),
pp. 132-133; Doeleman, 'Oude en nieuwe problemen' (see n. 13), pp. 274-275; Van
der Essen, 'Quelles étaient les « dix-sept provinces »' (see n. 13), p. 149.

seventeen as a symbol of vagueness, even though this may be a valid inter-
pretation in some of the cases he mentions. I do not think that it is ap-
plicable to the Seventeen Provinces and the Seventeen Burgundian lands.
After all, the use of the number in this context is remarkably consistent:
time and again a variety of authors try to complete the number of provinces
until they reach seventeen. In defence of Huizinga, it should be remarked
that our knowledge of the use and meaning of symbols has increased con-
siderably over the last century, although it is far from perfect.[81] I will show
that for people in the Middle Ages the number had a far more concrete
connotation than Huizinga assumed – a connotation that was based on
biblical and early-Christian traditions.

*The Symbolic Use of the Number Seventeen in the Middle Ages*

'For us, except for a few superstitions such as triskaidekaphobia, numbers
are utterly neutral, in and of themselves morally and emotionally free of all
value, as purely tools as a shovel. Not so for the old Europeans: they
thought of them as qualitative as well as quantitative', Alfred Crosby re-
marked. And in a recent publication, the French historian Michel Pastou-
reau confirmed: 'Trois, quatre ou sept, par exemple sont des nombres sym-
boliquement primordiaux qui signifient toujours plus que les seules quan-
tités de trois, quatre et sept'.[82]

From the point of view of men living in the twenty-first century, the use
of numerology is rather far-fetched, tending towards kabbalah and the
occult. To medieval man, however, numbers formed one of the crucial
factors in the exegesis of the Bible, the Word of God. Was it not written that
numbers mirrored the intentions of God when He created the world? *Omnia
in numero, mensura et pondere disposuisti* (but you have arranged all things
by measure and number and weight).[83]

It is therefore no coincidence that from the earliest Christian times on-
wards, thinkers used numerological arguments to aid them in their difficult
task to recognise and follow God's will. To us, the outcome of such com-
putations is of no importance, but to medieval men they were a stairway to

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[81] In my view, the publication of the *Lexikon* by Meyer and Suntrup is of major im-
portance in this respect (see n. 70).

[82] A. W. Crosby, *The Measure of Reality. Quantification and Western Society 1250-
1600* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 45; P. J. van Winter, 'De Zeven Provinciën', in: P. J.
van Winter, *Verkenning en onderzoek* (Groningen, 1965), pp. 85-86; Pastoureau,
*Une histoire symbolique* (see n. 24), pp. 24-25.

[83] Sap. 11, 21; cf. E. Hellgardt, *Zur Problem symbolbestimmter und formalästhe-
tisher Zahlenkomposition in mittelalterlicher Literatur. Mit Studien zum Quadrivium
und zur Vorgeschichte des mittelalterlichen Zahlendenkens* (München, 1973), pp.
47-49.

heaven. Knowledge of numbers was an important, though not unique, element in the discovery of the eternal truth.[84] In this context, the work of St Augustine is without doubt the most important: he set out the lines for many generations to come and can be considered the most influential writer on religious thought and sentiment outside the canonical Scriptures. Many medieval men of learning followed in his footsteps and tried to discover eternal truth by adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing all kinds of numbers from biblical sources.[85] Isidore of Seville even drew up a list of relevant numbers that appeared in the Bible. This use was by no means restricted to late antique and early medieval times: in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries it flourished as never before, and Hugh of St.-Victor developed a list of nine rules to use when interpreting sacred and other numbers.[86]

It was not uncommon to choose a symbolic numeral to indicate a group of more or less coherent principalities. The Dutch Republic, for instance, in many ways the successor to the Low Countries, was associated with the number of seven provinces. Historian Pieter Jan van Winter has shown that from the very start there are to be distinguished not seven provinces, but eight or nine. The use of the number seven was inspired by the great value of the numeral as a symbol for all kinds of virtues, some biblical, some astrological, some human. Most important seems to be the association with the tribes of Israel. It was only in the 1590s that the number of provinces settled on seven.[87] In Anglo-Saxon times the Heptarchy, a term probably introduced by the twelfth-century chronicler Henry of Huntingdon, was especially used for symbolic purposes.[88] Reality was far more complex, and

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[84] Hellgardt, *Problem* (see n. 83), p. 163.

[85] Characterisation by D. Knowles, *The Evolution of Medieval Thought* (New York, 1962), p. 32; cf. C. Harrison, 'Augustine', in: A. Hastings, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 52-55; C. Butler, *Number Symbolism* (London, 1970), pp. 22-46. Cf., e.g., H. Lange, ed., *Traités du XIIe siècle sur la symbolique des nombres* (Copenhagen, 1978), p. 14; H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale. Les quatre sens de l'écriture*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1964), vol. 2.2, pp. 7-40; G. Dahan, *L'exégèse chrétienne de la bible en Occident médiéval. XIIe-XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1999), pp. 341-344.

[86] Dahan, *L'exégèse* (see n. 85), pp. 342-343.

[87] P. J. van Winter, 'De Zeven Provinciën' (see n. 82), pp. 85-87. It was unknown to Van Winter, that during the ceremonial entry of Philip II in 1549 in Ypres already seven provinces were shown: Brabant, Gelre, Flanders, Hainault, Holland, Zeeland and Friesland – all Flemish-speaking. See: Rodríguez Pérez, *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog* (see n. 15), p. 38. The association with the seven generations of Israel is explicitly made by Michael Aitzinger: M. Eyzingerum, *Niderländische Beschreibung in Hochteutsch und historischer weiss gestelt auff den Belgischen Löwen der Sibenzehen Provinzen dess gantzen Niderlandts* (Cologne, 1584), p. 7.

[88] D. J. V. Fisher, *The Anglo-Saxon Age (c. 400-1042)* (London, 1973), p. 110.

the Heptarchy consisted often of more or less than seven kingdoms. In fact, the same phenomenon appeared in the case of the 'Hanse of the seventeen towns', which I mentioned before.

The symbolic meaning of seven, or three, or twelve, may be apparent to us, but to the number seventeen we attach no special significance. It is therefore not amazing that Philippe Contamine wondered why French financial experts in the middle of the fifteenth century chose the number of 1,700,000 bell-towers as a base for the taxation of the French people.[89] However, in the Middle Ages seventeen was a number full of symbolic connotations, most of which go back to scriptural passages.

The use of seventeen in relation to the languages and nations may be linked to one of the key passages of the Christian revelation in the New Testament. It concerns the description of the assembly in Jerusalem at Pentecost, when a large crowd gathered and the Holy Spirit descended:

> *Et cum conplerentur dies pentecostes erant omnes pariter in eodem loco / et factus est repente de caelo sonus tamquam advenientis spiritus vehementis et replevit totam domum ubi erant sedentes / et apparuerunt illis dispertitae linguae tamquam ignis seditque supra singulos eorum / et repleti sunt omnes Spiritu Sancto et coeperunt loqui aliis linguis prout Spiritus Sanctus dabat eloqui illes / erant autem in Hierusalem habitantes Iudaei viri religiosi ex omni natione quae sub caelo sunt / facta autem hac voce convenit multitudo et mente confusa est quoniam audiebat unusquisque lingua sua illos loquentes.[90]*

> (When the day of Pentecost had come, they were all together in one place. And suddenly from heaven there came a sound like the rush of a violent wind, and it filled the entire house where they were sitting. Divided tongues, as of fire, appeared among them, and a tongue rested on each of them. All of them were filled with the Holy Spirit and began to speak in other languages, as the Spirit gave them ability. Now there were devout Jews from every nation under heaven living in Jerusalem. And at this sound the crowd gathered and was bewildered, because each one heard them speaking in the native language of each.)

Then the names are mentioned of seventeen – some argue that we should only distinguish twelve, fifteen or sixteen – different territories, peoples and Roman provinces, from which these Jews originated. One may infer from this masterly example of glossolalia that there were seventeen 'Christian' nations in the world.[91] I should mention that I have only found this inter-

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[89] Contamine, 'Contribution à l'histoire' (see n. 72). It is remarkable also, that Chevalier and Gheerbrant, even though they have an entry on 'dix-sept', do not consider the Christian tradition with regard to seventeen: J. Chevalier and A. Gheerbrant, *Dictionnaire des symboles. Mythes, rêves, coutumes, gestes, formes, figures, couleurs, nombres* (Paris, 1982), pp. 191-192.

[90] Act. 2, 1-6; cf. *Oxford Bible*, NT, p.162.

[91] J. Kremer, *Pfingstbericht und Pfingstgeschehen. Eine exegetische Untersuchung*

pretation in modern literature, and I have not been able to confirm it on the basis of medieval sources.

A direct link between the number seventeen and the descent of the Holy Spirit may be hypothetical, but we are on firmer ground with another scriptural passage, which also holds a central position in Christian faith, and was to be read during Holy Week.[92] In the last chapter of the Gospel according to St John, we find the story of the five disciples who are fishing in the Lake of Tiberias. Though they tried all night, they did not succeed in catching anything. Then the resurrected Christ appeared and told them to try once more, this time not on the left, but on the right side of the boat; so they did and they caught 153 fishes:

> *Ascendit Simon Petrus et traxit rete in terram plenum magnis piscibus centum quinquaginta tribus. Et cum tanti essent non est scissum rete.*[93]

> (So Simon Peter went aboard and hauled the net ashore, full of large fish, a hundred fifty three of them; and though there were so many, the net was not torn.)

'Large quantities of ink have gone into explaining why there should be 153 fish', D. A. Carson remarked, and even today people are puzzled by the number. For exegetes – ancient, medieval and modern – it was, and is, clear

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zu *Apg 2,1-13* (Stuttgart, 1973), pp. 153-154. Though many authors have tried to interpret this passage, the selection of the 'nations' remains a mystery. See, e.g., F. F. Bruce, *The Book of Acts* (Grand Rapids, 1988), pp. 49-60. Cf. C. J. Labuschagne, *Numerical Secrets of the Bible. Rediscovering the Bible Codes* (N. Richland Hills, 2000), p. 165. Borst, *Turmbau von Babel* (see n. 70), pp. 223-224, distinguishes fifteen different nations in this context. Arno Borst, whose *magnum opus* deals with the number of languages in the world, gives a different interpretation for the use of seventeen in relation to the different languages and perhaps the (Christian) king-doms. In the second half of the thirteenth century Simon von Keza, notary of king Ladislaus IV of Hungary (1262-1290), made a subdivision of the well-known 72 languages, counting 22 Semites, 33 Hamites and seventeen Japhetites. The Japhetites were considered to be the founders of the Indo-Germanic languages, who settled in Asia Minor and Europe. Possibly, the use of the number seventeen is related to the work of Simon von Keza, although one cannot help wondering whether it is not the other way round, and Von Keza's Bible-interpretation was aimed at confirming the number seventeen, for, after all, the use of seventeen in a comparable context seems to be older, as is shown in the work of Benoit de St.-Maure. On the Japhetites, see Borst, *Turmbau von Babel* (see n. 70), vol. 1, pp. 122-125; on Simon von Keza's interpretation, see *idem*, vol. 2.2, p. 917; on the reception in the Low Countries, see *idem*, vol. 3.1, pp. 995-996. It may be significant in this context, that seventeen (9 + 8) and 72 (9 × 8) were thought to be related numbers: Chevalier and Gheerbrant, *Dictionnaire* (see n. 89), pp. 360-361.

[92] Augustin, *Sermons pour la Pâque*, ed. S. Poque (Paris, 1966), pp. 55-93.

[93] Io. 21,11.

that this was a *numerus electorum*, a number of the elect, in which Salvation is revealed. Also the net that was not torn, was considered to be of great importance, for it seems to point at the eternal unity of the Church.[94] It is not necessary to dwell upon all different interpretations of the number 153. It is sufficient to emphasise that the number was considered to refer to the unity of the Christian believers – and the net to the Catholic Church.[95]

What is the relation of seventeen and 153, one may ask. The solution may seem to be far-fetched to us, but for an answer to this question we can turn to Augustine. In a typical medieval way of reasoning, he used all kinds of mathematical analyses to unveil the divine truth hidden behind the 153 fishes, and in no less than five of his sermons – most of them delivered during Easter – he addressed the question.[96] In one of his sermons he remarked:

> *Jam ergo de numero centum quinquaginra trium piscium quid opus est eadem retexere? Nostis illa. A decem et septem nascitur numerus crescens. Incipe ab uno, perveni ad decem et septem, ut omnes addas: Id est, unum addas ad duos, et fiant tres; addas tres, et fiant sex; addas quatuor et fiant decem. Sic omnes adde usque ad decem et septem, et pervenis ad centum quinquaginta tres. Tota ergo intentio nostre esse non debet, nisi quid sibi volunt decem et septem: ibi est enim fundamentum centum quinquaginta trium.*[97]

> (What is necessary to unravel the number of 153 fishes? That is well known. Proceeding from seventeen, an ascending row can be constructed. Start with one, and add up all the numbers till seventeen: this means, you add one to two, you get three, then add three, you get six; add four and you get ten. Go on adding till you reach seventeen and you get 153. All this trouble is not necessary, as long as we realise what ten and seven mean, because that is the base of 153.)

Augustine used a procedure well known in the Middle Ages, often referred to as *generatio triangulorum numerorum*. A triangular number was made by a line of the basic numbers on the left-hand side of the triangle, of which the sum appeared on the right-hand side. Besides the construction of ten as related to four, the relation of seventeen and 153 is the most famous of these

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[94] D. A. Carson, *The Gospel According to John* (Leicester, 1991), p. 672. See, for an overview of most interpretations: G. R. Beasley-Murray, *John* (Waco, 1987), pp. 401-404.

[95] U. Wilckens, *Das Evangelium nach Johannes* (Göttingen, 1998), p. 324.

[96] Augustin, *Sermons* (see n. 92), *passim*.

[97] *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Opera ominia* V.1, col. 1170. Cf. *Sancti Avrelii Avgvstini in Iohannis Evangelivm tractatvs CXXIX*, Corpus Christianorum, series Latina XXXVI (Turnhout, 1954), pp. 671-674. For the dating of the manuscripts: *Ibid.*, pp. VIII-X; *Biblia latina cum glossa ordinaria* (Strassbourg, 1480-1481; reprint Turnhout, 1992), IV, p. 269.

triangular numbers (Table V). Perhaps the triangular relation between seventeen and 153 was first introduced by Augustine, but ever since that time it was known by nearly all medieval philosophers who dealt with the symbolism of numbers. It was used, for instance, in the *Glossa ordinaria*, by Isidore of Seville, and by the venerable Bede, and it was confirmed in the later Middle Ages by Thomas Aquinas.[98]

There were other methods, however, to reach the same outcome and to re-affirm the relation between seventeen and 153. In another sermon Augustine points out that 153 can be written as $10 \times 17 - 17$. In a comparable way, Gregory the Great argued that seventeen should be multiplied by three twice. The first multiplication gives $3 \times 17 = 51$, which is the symbol of real peace, for it consists of fifty (the jubilee) and one (unity). Multiplying 51 again by three (Trinity or the three parts of the earth) gives 153.[99] According to Augustine and other learned men, seventeen was therefore the *alter ego* of 153, and represented likewise the unity of the Catholic Church, of the Christian saints and of Christianity as a whole.[100] But this is only part of the explanation offered by Augustine and the others.

Having established the relation between 153 and seventeen in the sermon I quoted earlier, Augustine felt obliged to carry on with the exegesis of the number seventeen, addressing the composition of seventeen as the sum of ten and seven:[101]

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[98] Meyer and Suntrup, *Lexikon* (see n. 70), p. XIX; for Isidore, see: *Sancti Isidori hispalensis episcopum Liber numerorum*, PL 83 (Paris, 1862), col. 200; for Bede, see: *Venerabilis Bedae Opera omnia*, vol. 3, PL 92 (Paris, 1862), cols. 925-926; for Thomas, see: S. Thomas Aquinatis, *Catena Aurea in quatuor evangelia* II (Rome, 1953), p. 589.

[99] G. Cremascoli, 'Le symbolisme des nombres dans les œuvres de Grégoire le Grand', in: J. Fontaine, R. Gillet, and S. Pellistrandi, eds., *Grégoire le Grand* (Paris, 1986), pp. 445-454; Meyer and Suntrup, *Lexikon* (see n. 70), cols. 747-748, 815-816. On the great influence of Gregory's sermons, see: Gregor der Grosse, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, ed. M. Fiedrowicz, 2 vols. (Freiburg etc., 1998), vol. 1, pp. 24-25.

[100] Is it a coincidence that the episode at the Lake of Tiberias was displayed in a pageant in 1458 during Philip the Good's advent in Ghent? See: Kipling, *Enter the King* (see n. 43), p. 278.

[101] The division of seventeen as the sum of ten and seven was very common in the Middle Ages. See Hellgardt, *Problem* (see n. 83), p. 32; F. Tschirch, *Spiegelungen. Untersuchungen vom Grenzraum zwischen Germanistik und Theologie* (Berlin, 1966), pp. 275-276; Meyer and Suntrup, *Lexikon* (see n. 70), p. XIX, cols. 814-816; R. Hartmann, *Allegorisches Wörterbuch zu Otfrieds von Weissenburg Evangelien-dichtung* (München, 1975), pp. 531-533. For Gregory, cf. Cremascoli, 'Le symbolisme des nombres' (see n. 99), p. 448. The possibility of considering seventeen as the sum of eight and nine seems of little relevance in this respect, for this division is not very common in the Christian world, but far more so in Islamic and sometimes Greek sources. In the Christian tradition eight and nine were both linked to the Passion and Redemption of Christ. Eight was used as a general symbol for *stabilitas*,

*Quid sibi volunt decem et septem? In lege agnosce decem. Decem praecepta data sunt prima: Decalogus dicitur scriptus in tabulis digito Dei. In decem agnosce Legem, in septem agnosce Spiritum sanctum. Ideo non nominatur in Lege sanctificatio, nisi septimo die.*[102]

(And what do ten and seven mean? [literally: What determine ten and seven for themselves?] In the law you should recognise ten. First there is the Decalogue. The Decalogue has been written, it is said, on the tables of the law by the finger of God. In ten you recognise the law, in seven you should recognise the Holy Ghost. That is the reason that only the seventh day is called holy in the Decalogue.)

There are many explanations of the meaning of the number ten, which, among other things, symbolises perfection and merit, but most important is its association with law and justice; *Lex autem decem praecepta habet*, Augustine stresses, referring to the Decalogue.[103] Hence, ten should be considered the number of law and justice. St Jerome emphasises that this is also applicable to seventeen, when he refers to Ezechiel 18: 5-9, where seventeen arguments are formulated to ascertain whether a person is just.[104] At the same time, the mention of the Decalogue associates the number with God's covenant with the Jewish people, and therefore with the Old Testament.[105]

Even to us, living in the twenty-first century, seven has a symbolic connotation; this was far more so in the Middle Ages. 'Das Bedeutungsspektrum der Sieben wird in seinem Umfang von keiner anderen Zahl übertroffen', Meyer and Suntrup remarked, and there are, indeed, many symbolic values to be cited. Most common, however, was the association with the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, which was also cited by Augustine in the sermon I mentioned earlier: *sapientia, intellectus, consilium, fortitudo, scientia, pietas* and *timor*. Especially in combination with the number ten, as in seventeen, it can also be considered *numerus universitatis* and *numerus perfectus et sacratus*, symbolising universality and the eternal Church.[106]

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*plenitudo* and *perfectio*. For Jerome nine is the number of misfortune, punishment and sorrow. See Chevalier and Gheerbrant, *Dictionnaire* (see n. 89), pp. 360-361. In this case the number seventeen is related to 72 (8 × 9). Cf. Meyer and Suntrup, *Lexikon* (see n. 70), cols. 581-590 and 565-580 resp.

[102] Augustinus, *Opera Omnia*, vol. V.1, col. 1170. Cf. R. E. Brown, *The Gospel according to John (XIII-XXI) Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (New York, 1970), pp. 1074-1076.

[103] Augustin, *Sermons* (see n. 92), p. 320.

[104] S. *Hieronymo presbyteri opera* I *Opera exegetica* 4 *Commentariorum in Hiezechielem*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina 75, 1, 4 (Turnhout, 1964), pp. 231-242.

[105] Meyer and Suntrup, *Lexikon* (see n. 70), cols. 591-615.

[106] *Ibidem*, cols. 479-565.

The combination of the numbers ten and seven therefore makes clear that seventeen refers to the Divine revelation and the unity of the Christian faith. This association with oneness is confirmed by Gregory, who in his *Homilia* on John 21:1-14, emphasises that seventeen marks the unity of the Old and the New Testament:

> *Scitis namque quod in veteri Testamento omnis operatio per decalogi mandata praecipitur: in novo autem eiusdem operationis virtus per septiformem gratiam sancti Spiritus multiplicatis fidelibus datur.*[107]

> (You know that in the Old Testament all acts are prescribed by the Decalogue; in the New Testament, however, the power to act was given to the multiplied believers through the sevenfold Graces of the Holy Spirit.)

In my view, the use of seventeen as the cardinal number for the possessions of the Burgundian dukes in the fifteenth century, and a century later for provinces of the Low Countries, is no coincidence. Seventeen was a number with many, mostly positive connotations. It is possible that among contemporaries there was only a general awareness of it being a 'good' number. It is also possible, however, that they were aware of the three symbolic connotations that seem to stand out: law, grace and unity.[108] In that case, seventeen may symbolise the hopes and expectations of the contemporary inhabitants.

In the late Middle Ages, justice was considered to be of crucial importance for society, especially by the urban elites. As Thomas Aquinas and many other philosophers confirmed, the maintenance of law and order was the basic idea that legitimised the existence of the dynastic power and later of a more abstract state. In the heavily urbanised Low Countries, not only the great philosophers, but also many vernacular writers testify to the importance of justice; Jacob van Maerlant and Jan van Boendale are cases in point.[109]

The association with the Gifts of the Holy Spirit and with grace reminds us of a development that took place in the late Middle Ages and early modern times: the sanctification of the *patria*. In France, for instance, in the

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[107] Gregor der Grosse, *Homiliae* (see n. 99), vol. 2, p. 432.

[108] In the Orient the number seventeen had a meaning based on biblical and antique traditions. The biblical Flood began on the seventeenth day of the second month and ended on the seventeenth day of the seventh month. Furthermore, Odysseus floated seventeen days on a raft. Cf. F. C. Endres and A. Schimmel, *Das Mysterium der Zahl. Zahlensymbolik im Kulturvergleich (s.l.n.d.),* pp. 236-238. In Jewish tradition, seventeen can also be considered the numerical value of Yahweh: see Labuschagne, *Numerical Secrets* (see n. 91), pp. 98-103.

[109] See, e.g., E. Isenmann, 'Norms and Values in the European City, 1300-1800', in: P. Blickle, ed., *Resistance, Representation, and Community* (Oxford, 1997), pp. 185-215.

fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the central administration stimulated the glorification of national saints like St Michael; the number of saints was emphasised, the king and the kingdom both received the adjective *très chrétien*, and even the language was sanctified.[110] In the individual provinces of the Low Countries the same development appeared, when national saints were promoted, for instance in Friesland (St Magnus), and in Brabant, where a large group of saints vindicated the sanctity of the country.[111] The idea that the Burgundian inheritance was a chosen land, ruled by a chosen dynasty, is also represented in a small but popular chronicle, dating from the reign of Charles the Bold, entitled *Chronique des royz, ducz et contes de Bourgogne depuis l'an quatorze apres la Resurrection*, which has been attributed to Philippe Martin.[112] It is possible, that the use of the number seventeen from the 1460s onwards is connected with Charles the Bold's conviction that he was chosen directly by God to govern his lands in a just way.[113] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a comparable development would take place in the Dutch Republic, when the Calvinists considered the Republic to be 'Neerlandts Israel': the Israelites were the chosen people of the Old Testament, the Dutch – and the Calvinist church – the chosen people of the New Testament. Both were examples of the heavenly Jerusalem. This identification was so strong and so widespread, that Philip Gorski considers it to be 'clear-cut nationalism'.[114] Further research will have to show if there is a direct connection between the use of seven(teen)

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[110] C. Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris, 1985), *passim*.

[111] A. Salomon, *Friesische Geschichtsbilder. Historische Ereignisse und kollektives Gedächtnis im mittelalterlichen Friesland* (Aurich, 2000), pp. 78-121; for Brabant: V. Souche-Hazebrouck, 'Le Brabant, terre de sainteté à travers l'œuvre de Jean Gielemans (†1487)', in: S. Boesch Gaiano and R. Michetti, eds., *Europa sacra. Raccolte agiografiche politiche in Europa fra Medioevo ed Età moderna* (Rome, 2002), pp. 33-44; S. Bijker will deal with the Brabant saints in his forthcoming dissertation.

[112] Small, *George Chastelain* (see n. 65), pp. 221-222. Cf. the 1549 entry of Philip II, where the prince was associated with all kinds of biblical characters: Rodríguez-Pérez, *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog* (see n. 15), p. 38. On the *Chronique des royz*, see esp. Graeme Small's contribution in the present volume.

[113] A. J. Vanderjagt, *'Qui sa vertu anoblist'. The Concepts of noblesse and chose publicque in Burgundian Political Thought* (Groningen, 1981), pp. 60-61.

[114] Philip S. Gorski, 'The Mosaic Moment: An Early Modernist Critique of Modernist Theories of Nationalism', in: *American Journal of Sociology* 105 (2000), pp. 1428-1470; cf. G. Groenhuis, 'Calvinism and National Consciousness: The Dutch Republic as the New Israel', in: A. C. Duke and C. A. Tamse, eds., *Britain and the Netherlands*, vol. 7 (The Hague, 1981), pp. 118-133; G. Groenhuis, *De predikanten. De sociale positie van de gereformeerde predikanten in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden voor ± 1700* (Groningen, 1977), pp. 77-102; C. Huisman, *Neerlands Israël. Het natiebesef der traditioneel-gereformeerden in de achttiende eeuw* (Dordrecht, 1983), pp. 46-60.

and the conviction that the Dutch Republic could be considered 'Neerlandts Israel'.[115]

Finally there is the element of unity, which may have been the most important association that arose from the number seventeen. The idea of unity is emphasised in the graphic layout of seventeen symbols in most of the sources used here. In some cases a line connects the coats of arms of the seventeen lands. In Van der Noot's depiction of the Low Countries (Plate 7), the coats of arms of the provinces surrounding Brabant are depicted in the form of a chain. The frequent use of the circle, symbol of "l'Unité principielle" is also no coincidence.[116] Again in other instances, the seventeen are presented as a group confronting the prince. Most explicit in this regard is the seal of the States General, with a ribbon that holds together the seventeen arrows of the Low Countries' lion, on which the word *concordia* is written. Of course, unity was at the heart of the oneness of the Low Countries, which in reality consisted of a group of principalities, each with a very different political and social culture.

At the end of the day, we may ask ourselves if many people in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were aware of this rather academic interpretation of the symbolism attached to the number seventeen. Probably this was not the case. For many people the number will simply have called to mind the general positive associations that were characteristic of any sacred number. Starting from this assumption, it was only sound to manipulate the number of principalities or provinces in such a way that there were seventeen.

*Conclusion*

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries historians have tried to give a quantitative meaning to the number seventeen, when they tried to identify the seventeen principalities that belonged to the Low Countries in the decades prior to the rise of the Dutch Republic. Even though many historians have attempted to shed light on the matter, the various opinions and points of view are still at odds. In this paper, I have tried to give a different interpretation, focusing not on a quantitative approach, but on the symbolic meaning of the number seventeen itself. It appeared that, from early Christian times onwards, seventeen was considered to be one of the sacred numbers, symbolising the sanctified unity of Christianity, the combination of the Old and the New Testament, and the association of law and

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[115] In this context, it may be relevant that Jean Jouffroy in the 1448 address for Pope Nicholas V related the Burgundian lands to the tribes of Israel; see the quotation in: Stroo, *De celebratie van de macht* (see n. 24), p. 259.

[116] Chevalier and Gheerbrant, *Dictionnaire* (see n. 89), pp. 191-192.

grace. In the high and late Middle Ages the number was used in different contexts, like kingdoms and nations.

From the 1460s onwards, the number was used to glorify the multiplicity of the feudal possessions of the Burgundian dukes. At the centre of this construction the Burgundian dynasty was placed. Though the interpretation differed, none of the sources omitted the fact that the Burgundian union was split in a northern and a southern territorial complex. The central position of the dynasty is not only remarkable because it formed the heart of the sanctified union, but also because nearly all the references came into being in the vicinity of the dukes themselves. In the early sixteenth century the concept of the seventeen Burgundian lands seems to have lost its vitality, only to be revived a century later in a different form.

During the second half of the sixteenth century a new interpretation was developed, which was quite different, even though it elaborated on the former one. Now that the dynasty was no longer considered to be of importance, the interpretation was in its essence territorial and the seventeen provinces were symbolised as a territorial unity, even though in reality they were split by the prince-bishopric of Liège. Compared to a century earlier, the spread of the use of seventeen was now far greater, mainly because it was propagated with the help of the new mass medium of the printing press; it even found its way into folksongs.

Which were the seventeen provinces? The question has been asked frequently during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In fact, not even the people living in the late Middle Ages and early modern times could have given us an appropriate answer. On second thoughts, the efforts to identify the seventeen provinces appear to be ironic. The scholars of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did the same as their predecessors four or five hundred years before, but from a totally different point of view. Both tried to mould historical 'reality' into the numerical framework formed by the number seventeen. It was only through the use of cunning manœuvres that they succeeded in this. In both periods, the efforts were aimed at the sanctification of the union. The motivation of nineteenth-century scholars, however, was not formed by a religious but by a political conviction. They worshipped the god of nationalism and thus tried to reconstruct a reality that had never existed.

|  | J. Wagenaar, A. van der Essen; F. J. van Ettro, E. de Seyn | R. Fruin, P. J. Blok, F. Doeleman | H. Pirenne | H. de Schepper |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Brabant | X | X | X | X |
| Limbourg | X | X | X | X |
| Luxembourg | X | X | X | X |
| Guelders | X | X (+ Zutphen) | X | X (+Zutphen) |
| Flanders | X | X | X | X |
| Artois | X | X | X | X |
| Hainault | X | X | X | X |
| Holland | X | X | X | X |
| Zeeland | X | X | X | X |
| Namur | X | X | X | X |
| Zutphen | X |  | X |  |
| Antwerp (= Marchionate of the Holy Roman Empire) | X |  |  |  |
| Friesland | X | X | X | X |
| Malines | X | X | X | X |
| Utrecht | X | X | X | X |
| Overijssel | X | X | X | X |
| Groningen | X | X | X | X |
| Lille, Douai, Orchies |  | X | X | X |
| Tournai, Tournaisis |  | X | X | X |
| Valenciennes |  |  |  | X |
| Debattenland |  |  |  | X |

TABLE I. Interpretations of the seventeen (or more) principalities that formed the Low Countries in the middle of the sixteenth century.[117]

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[117] A more detailed overview: Van Ettro, 'Welke waren de namen' (see n. 13), pp. 132-136.

|                     | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H |
|---------------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lotharingia         |   |   |   | X | X |   |   |   |
| Brabant             | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Limbourg            | X | X | X | X | X |   |   | X |
| Luxembourg          | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Guelders            | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Flanders            | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Artois              | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Hainault            | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Holland             | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Zeeland             | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Namur               | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Zutphen             | X | X | X | X | X | X |   | X |
| Antwerp             | X | X |   |   |   | X |   |   |
| Friesland           | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Mechelen            | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Utrecht             | X |   |   | X | X |   | X | X |
| Overijssel          | X | X | X | X |   | X | X | X |
| Groningen           | X | X | X | X |   | X |   | X |
| Lille               |   |   |   |   |   | X | X |   |
| Tournai (territory) |   |   |   |   | X | X | X |   |
| Tournay (town)      |   |   |   |   |   |   | X |   |
| Valenciennes        |   | X | X |   | X |   | X |   |
| Valkenburg          |   |   |   |   |   |   |   | X |
| Left empty          |   |   | X |   |   |   |   |   |

A: 1567 Guicciardini; many later maps; 1577: Entry William of Orange in Brussels; 1577 Drawing (Horst, *Opstand in zwart-wit* (see n. 16), p. 180, ill. 56).

B: 1575: Drawing (Horst, p. 156, ill. 49).

C: *c.* 1575: Drawing (Horst, p. 158, ill. 50).

D: Drawings 1577 (Horst, pp. 212, 232, 233, 235, ill. nos. 66, 73.1, 73.2, 74).

E: 1578. Drawing (Horst, p. 244, ill. 77. The coat of arms of Luxembourg is left empty).

F: 1578. Drawing (Horst, p. 247, ill. 78).

G: 1579. Cartouche in a map of the Low Countries (Horst, p. 246, ill. 85a); Van der Noot, *Lofsang van Braband* (see n. 27), p. 25.

H: 1588. Map by Johannes and Baptist van Dietecum (Van der Heijden, *Old Maps* (see n. 21), vol. 1, p. 217).

TABLE II. Different interpretations of the identification of the Low Countries in sixteenth-century sources.

| | A | B | C | D | E |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Burgundy (duchy) | X | X | X | X | X |
| Lotharingia | X | X | X | X | |
| Brabant | X | X | X | X | X |
| Limbourg | X | X | X | X | X |
| Luxembourg | X | X | X | X | X |
| Guelders | | | X | X | X |
| Flanders | X | X | X | X | X |
| Artois | X | X | X | X | X |
| Burgundy (county) | X | X | X | X | X |
| Hainault | X | X | X | X | X |
| Holland | X | X | X | X | X |
| Zeeland | X | X | X | X | X |
| Namur | X | | X | X | X |
| Zutphen | | | X | | X |
| Antwerp | X | X | | X | X |
| Friesland | X | X | X | X | X |
| Salins | X | X | X | X | |
| Malines | X | X | X | X | X |
| Utrecht | | | | | X |
| Charolais | X | | | | |
| Boulogne | | X | | | |
| Palatinate | | X | | | |

A: 1468 (coats of arms of Charles the Bold).
B: 1472 (Nicolaas Clopper, *Florarium Temporum*).
C: *c.* 1494 (Diptych of Philip the Fair and Margaret, with coats of arms).[118]
D: *c.* 1494 (Diptych of Philip the Fair and Margaret, with names of provinces); *c.*
     1525 (Seal Charles V).
E: 1613 (Seal of Albert and Elizabeth).

TABLE III. Seventeen Burgundian provinces, as used in different sources.

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[118] The same selection of coats of arms is made in a manuscript of the *Chronijck van Vlaenderen*, dating from *c.* 1480. See the reproduction in: P. van Ussel, *De regeering van Maria van Bourgondië over de Nederlanden*, Université de Louvain. Recueil de traveaux d'histoire et de philologie, 3me série, 15 (Louvain, 1943), ill. IV, facing p. 32.

| | Philip the Good (*c.* 1460) | Charles the Bold (*c.* 1468) | Charles the Bold (*c.* 1475) | Mary of Burgundy (1477) | Philip the Fair (*c.* 1495) | Philip II (1549) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Duke of Burgundy | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Duke of Lotharingia | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Duke of Brabant | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Duke of Limbourg | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Duke of Luxembourg | | X | X | X | X | X |
| Duke of Guelders | | | X | X | X | X |
| Count of Flanders | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Count of Artois | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Palatine of Burgundy (Franche-Comté) | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Count of Hainault | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Count of Holland | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Count of Zeeland | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Count of Namur | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Count of Zutphen | | | X | X | X | X |
| Margrave of the Holy Roman Empire (Antwerp) | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Lord of Friesland | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Lord of Salins | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Lord of Malines | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Lord of Utrecht | | | | | | X |
| Lord of Overijssel | | | | | | X |
| Lord of Groningen | | | | | | X |
| TOTAL | 15 | 16 | 18 | 18 | 18 | 21 |

TABLE IV. Feudal titles of the dukes of Burgundy and their successors.

```
                        1
                        -
                    2 - - 3
                   3 - - - 6
                  4 - - - - 10
                 5 - - - - - 15
                6 - - - - - - 21
               7 - - - - - - - 28
              8 - - - - - - - - 36
             9 - - - - - - - - - 45
           10 - - - - - - - - - - 55
          11 - - - - - - - - - - - 66
         12 - - - - - - - - - - - - 78
        13 - - - - - - - - - - - - - 91
       14 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 105
      15 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 120
     16 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 136
    17 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 153
```

TABLE V. Seventeen as triangular number of 153.
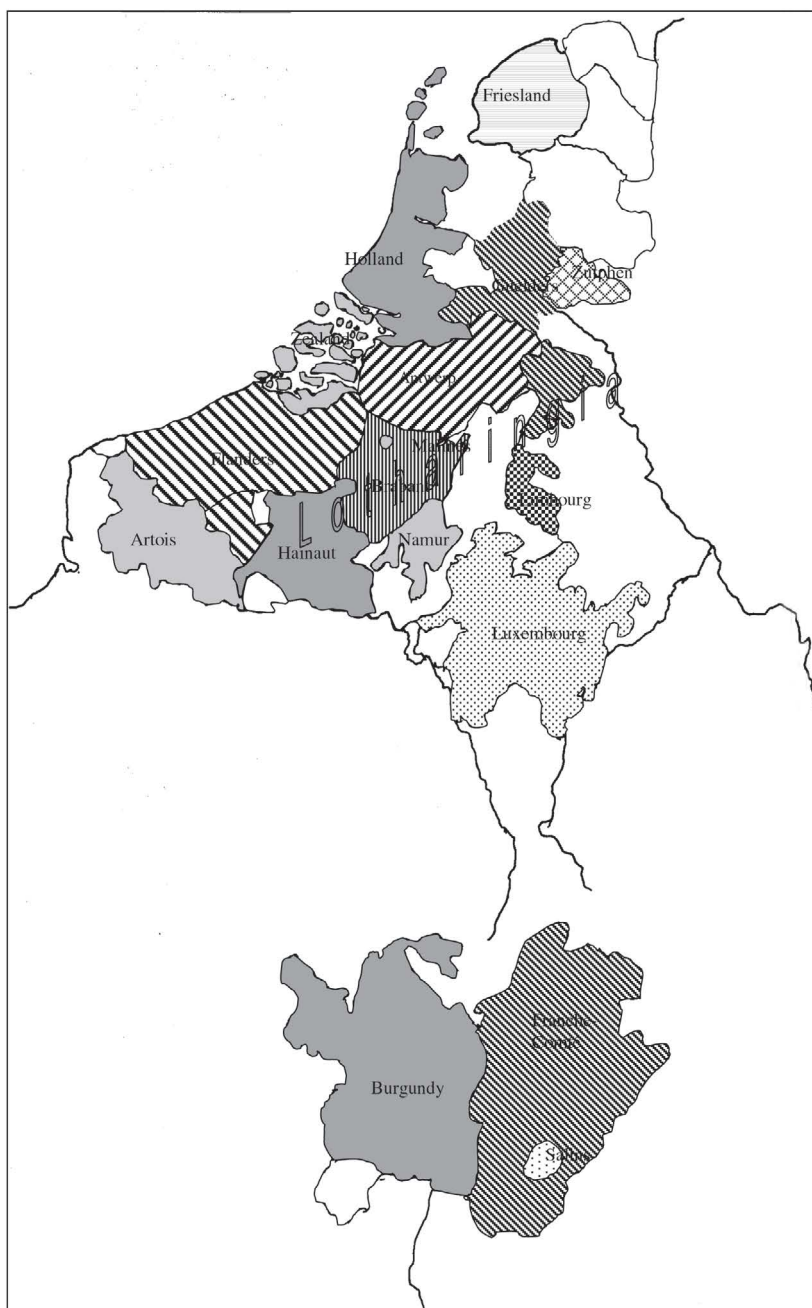
Map of the Burgundian possessions, c. 1475.
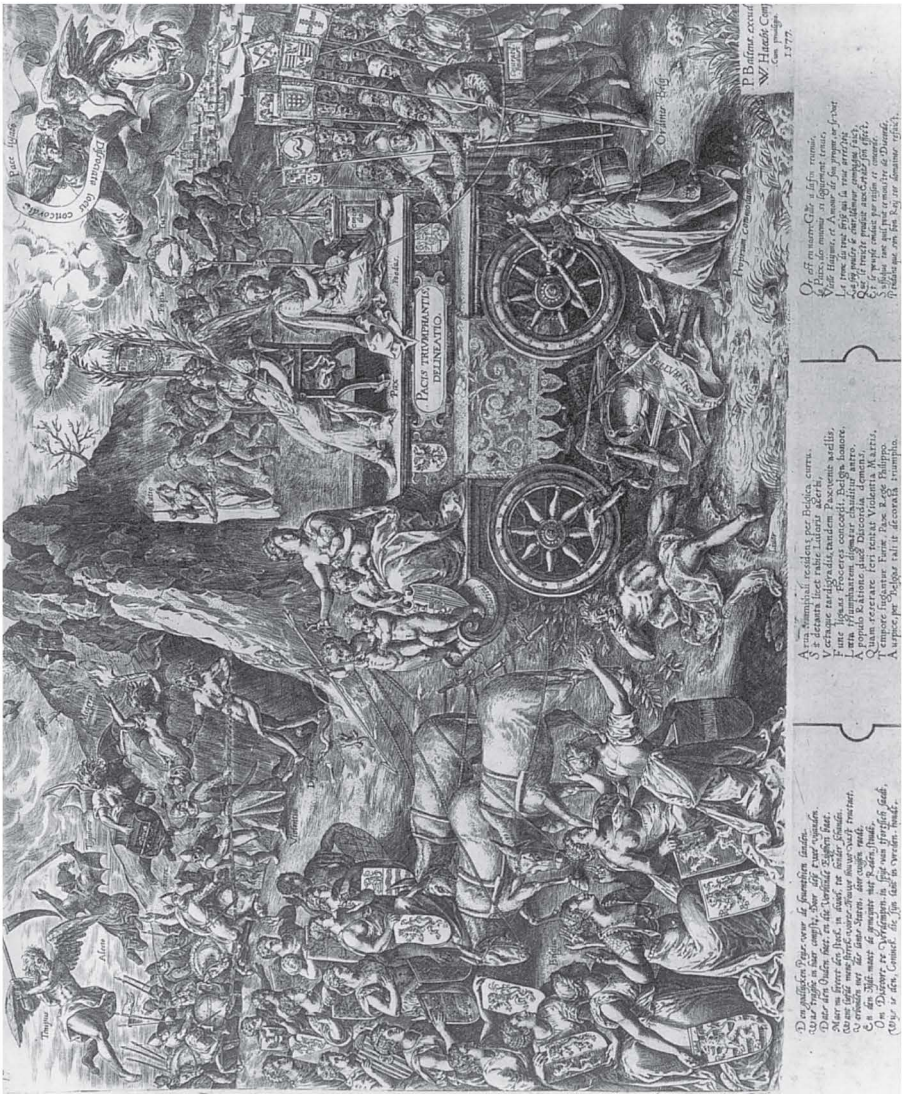
Plate 1.  One of the brothers Wierix, after Willem van Haecht I, The triumph of Peace (c. 1581). Stichting Atlas Van Stolk, Rotterdam.

Plate 2. Hans Collaert sr., *Belgicae delacratae lamentatio* (c. 1577). Stichting Atlas Van Stolk, Rotterdam.

Plate 3. Frontispiece with the coats of arms of the seventeen provinces. The arms of Philip II are inserted later, on a separate leaflet. Ludowico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tutti i Paessi Bassi* (Antwerpen, Christ. Plantijn, 1581). Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek 1013 A 3.

Plate 4. F. Hogenberg, *Leo Belgicus*, first published in: M. Aitzinger, *De leone Belgico*, Cologne, 1583. Here the second state, dating from 1588. Inserted into: Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek 1367 D 11.

Plate 5. Seal of the States General (1578). Coll. Kasteel Amerongen.

Plate 6.  Entry of William the Silent in Brussels. J.B. Houwaert, *Declaratie van die triumphante Incompst van den Prince van Oraignien binnen Brussele, geschiet in 1578 den 18 Sept.* (Antwerp, Christ. Plantijn 1579), p. 18. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek 1367 E 9.

Plate 7.  Jan van der Noot, *Lofsang van Braband – Hymne de Braband* (Antwerp,
Giles van de Rade, 1580), p. 25. Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek 1367 C 28.
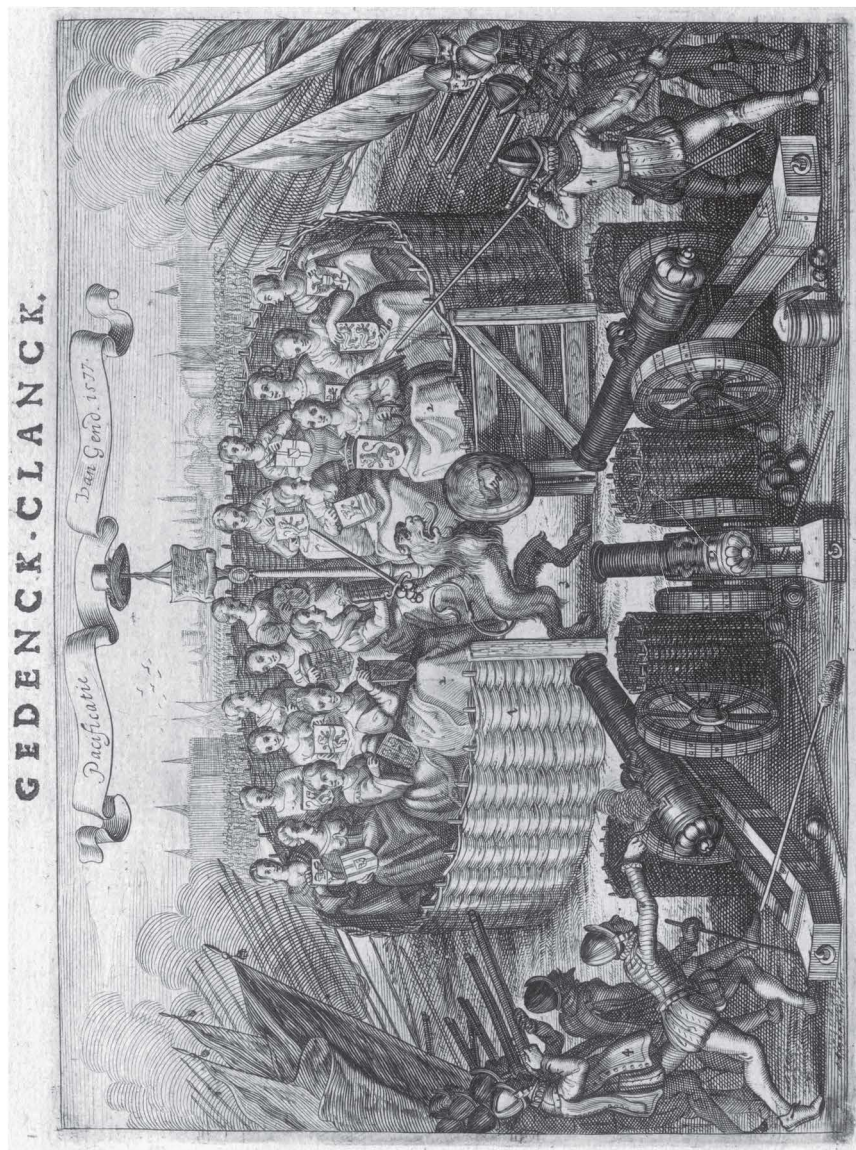
Plate 8. The Lion defending the *hortus conclusus* of the Low Countries. Adriaen Valerius, *Nederlandtsche gedenck-clanck, kortelick openbarende de voornaemste geschiedenissen van de seventhien Nederlandsche Provintien, 'tsedert den aenvang der Inlandsche beroerten ende troublen, tot den iare 1625* (Haarlem: erven Valerius, 1626). Tresoar, Leeuwarden, 1742 G.
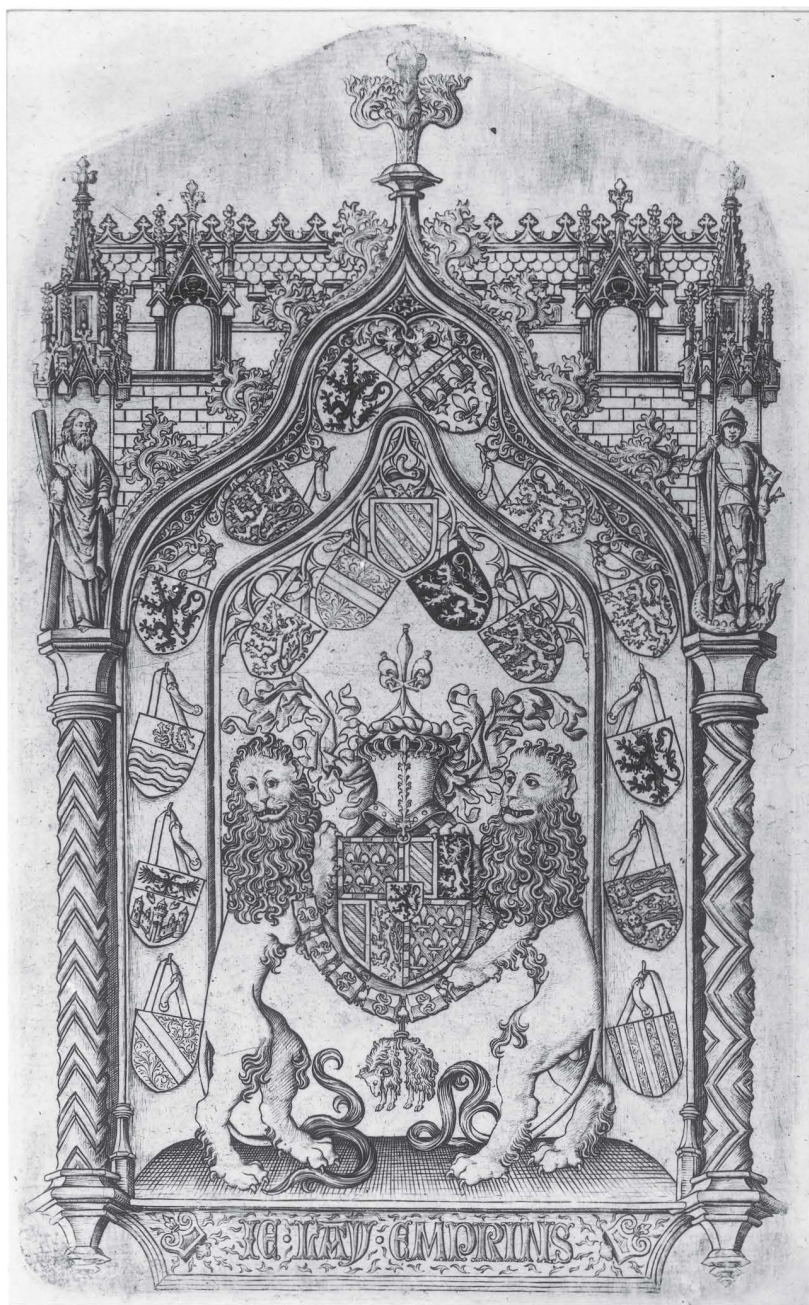
Plate 9. Shield with the arms of Charles the Bold. Brussels, Royal Library, Cabinet des dessins, S II 62992.

Plate 10. Pieter van Coninxloo (?), Diptych showing Philip the Fair and his sister Margaret, surrounded by the coats of arms of the Austrian and the Burgundian lands, c. 1494. London, National Gallery, cat. 2613.
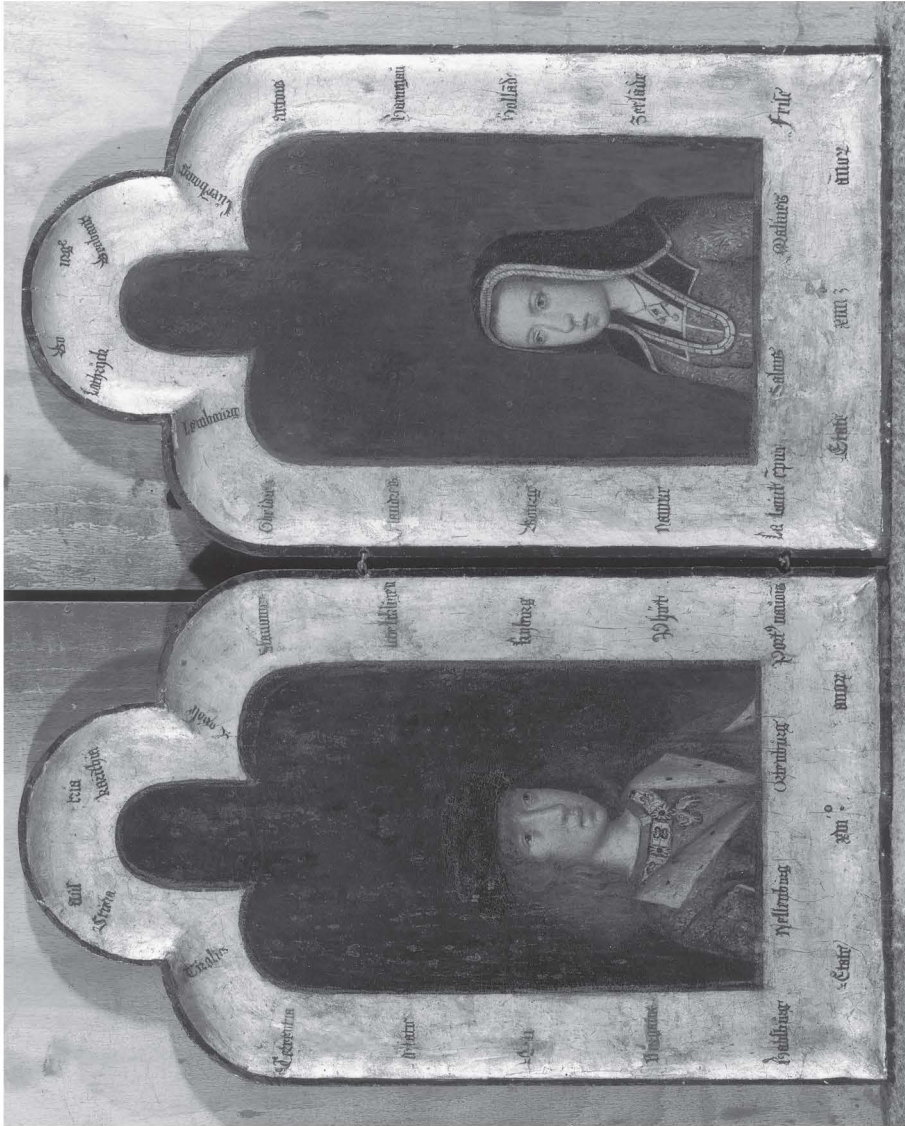
Plate 11. Master of the Saint-George-Guild (?), Diptych showing Philip the Fair and his sister Margaret, surrounded by the names of the Austrian and the Burgundian lands, c. 1494. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Porträgalerie, Inv. nr. 4446-4447.

Plate 12. Seal of Charles V, before 1528. Olivier de Wree (or Vredius), *Sigilla comitum Flandria et inscriptiones diplomatum ab iis editorum cum expositione historica* (Bruges, 1639). Leiden Universiteitsbibliotheek 416 B 16:1.

Plate 13.  Seal of the archducal couple Albert and Elizabeth (1613). Olivier de Wree, *Sigilla comitum Flandria* (Bruges, 1639), Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek 416 B 16:1.

Plate 14. After Jan van Eyck, 'Fishing party', first quarter of the fourteenth century. Paris, Louvre, Cabinet des dessins 20674.
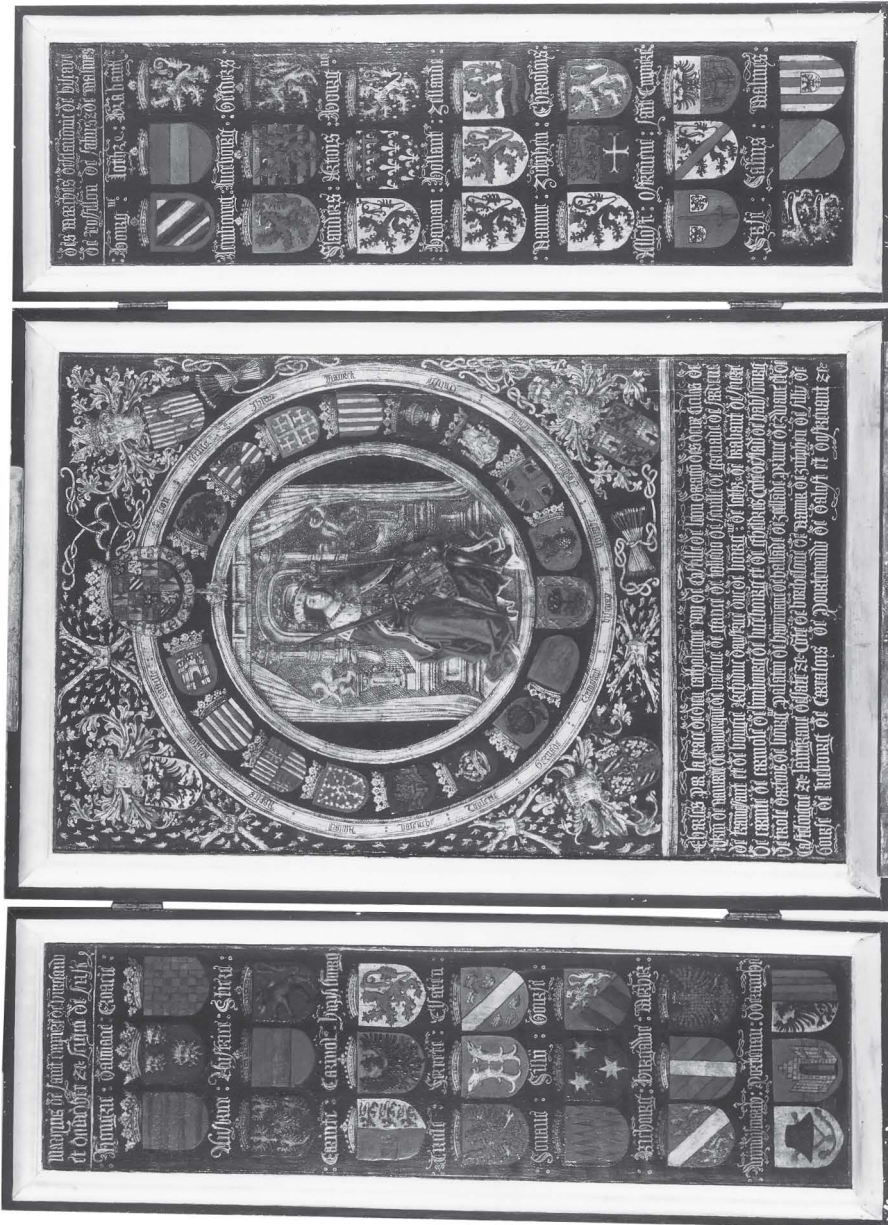
Plate 15. Jan van Battel, Shield, showing the coats of arms of Charles V in his Austrian, Spanish and Burgundian possessions (Malines, 1517–1518). Malines, Stedelijk museum Hof van Busleyden S/10.

Plate 16. Remy du Puys, Pageant of the tanners at the Ceremonial Entry of Charles V in Bruges, 1515. Remy du Puys, *La tryumphante et solemnelle entree faicte sur le nouvel ioyeuz advenement de ... Charles prince des Hespaignes, archiduc d'Austrice en sa ville de Bruges*. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Codex 2591, fol. 49r.
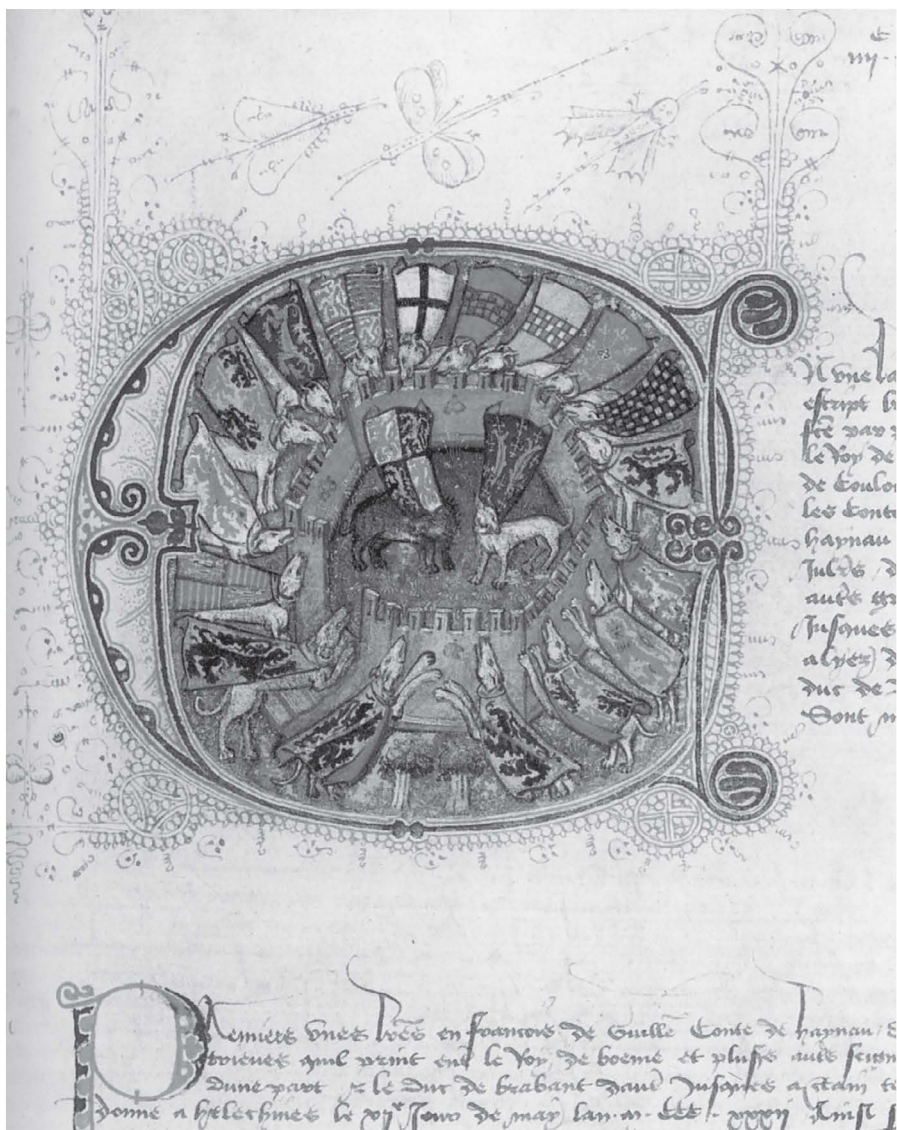
Plate 17.  Adriaan van der Ee, Miniature showing the seventeen landlords besieging Brabant in 1334. Miniature dating from 1438. Brussels, National Archive, Manuscrits divers 983, fol. 496r.

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